National Library
of Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Services des thèses canadiennes

CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL 339 (r. 86/01)

Canada

308

0-315-27039-X

National Library
of Canada

Canadian Theses Division

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Division des thèses canadiennes

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

- Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

NIGEL CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN

Date of Birth — Date de naissance

JULY 17th. 1951

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance

ENGLAND

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

GLOVERS COTTAGE, LAZONBY, PENRITH, CUMBRIA.
CA10 1AJ, ENGLAND.

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

SOCCER, MULTICULTURALISM AND THE CANADIAN STATE.

University — Université

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

MASTER OF ARTS

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

FALL 1983

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse

DR. GARRY SMITH

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date

MAY 5th. 1983

Signature

N.C.Chamberl

NL-91 (4/77)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

SOCCER, MULTICULTURALISM AND THE CANADIAN STATE

by

Ⓒ NIGEL C. CHAMBERLAIN

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL 1983

MICRO

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR NIGEL C. CHAMBERLAIN

TITLE OF THESIS SOCCER, MULTICULTURALISM AND THE CANADIAN STATE

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED MASTER OF ARTS

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED FALL 1983

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(SIGNED) N.C. Chamberlain

PERMANENT ADDRESS:
GLOVERS COTTAGE,
LAZONBY, PENRITH,
CUMBRIA, ENGLAND.

DATED APRIL 15th. 1983.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled SOCCER, MULTICULTURALISM AND THE CANADIAN STATE submitted by NIGEL C. CHAMBERLAIN in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

Gary Smith

Supervisor

Baha Abulaban

Date APRIL 15th. 1983.

Dedication

To my wife, Christine . . .
A supportive confidante, a devoted mother to our son Gavin,
my severist critic, a meticulous proofreader and an able typist.
This thesis is, above all, a tribute to her selflessness.

Abstract

The general purpose of this study was to make a contribution to the growing body of literature which has attempted to examine the connections between the development of sport and the production, reproduction and modification of the social and cultural relationships which created and have maintained the Canadian State.

The specific purpose of this study was to address the following questions:

1. What are the historical interconnections and interdependencies between Italian culture and the development of association football or soccer in relation to a dominant capitalist system and a dominant Anglo-American culture?
2. Is the practice of multiculturalism congruent with the theory of multiculturalism among the various administrative levels of soccer within the Canadian State.

An ethnographic study of one ethnocultural group, the Italian-Canadians, was therefore related to an historical and critical evaluation of the development of the Canadian State. Moreover, a participant observation study with an Italian-Canadian soccer team afforded the possibility of combining microtheoretical and macrotheoretical analyses in one thesis. The Italian victory in the 1982 F.I.F.A. World Cup and the role of the media and their impact upon soccer culture were also related to the development of the Canadian State.

The analysis revealed that soccer, as one sport form, was:

a) in the process of becoming more democratised as a mass participant sport in Canada. However, the influence of commercial soccer and the limited access to decision-making processes stood in contradiction to this progress;
b) a culturally meaningful and symbolic activity for a significant number of people in Canada and the public media perpetuate the people's identification

with the game for the purposes of private accumulation and profit maximisation;

c) actively involved in the maintenance of the status quo, or the legitimation of the Canadian State, as identification with soccer culture curbed the development of critical awareness and working-class consciousness.

Consideration of sport forms as more than a mere reflection of society afforded the possibility of understanding cultural development as a dialectical process. Sport is a social phenomenon, a manifestation of individual and group creativity, a ritualised activity of anthropological significance, an historical insight into the social relationships of specific cultures and a mode of production in capitalist societies.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Baha Abu-Laban, Dr. M. Ann Hall, Dr. Harvey Scott and Dr. Garry Smith for their guidance and advice in the preparation of this thesis.

I also wish to acknowledge those students who, through formal and informal discussions, have forced me to express my thoughts more coherently. My gratitude is extended to Cathy Bray and Konstantinos Koskinas for their academic support, their constructive criticism and their unfailing encouragement. Simon Eassom's knowledge of the idiosyncrasies of the computer proved to be invaluable.

Finally, I would like to thank all the members of the Ital.-Canadian Soccer Team who made this thesis possible. Their names have been changed in order to protect their confidentiality.

Table of Contents

Chapter Page

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM 1
  A. Introduction 1
  B. The Purpose of the Study 2
  C. Need for the Study 3
  D. Format of the Thesis 4
II. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES 5
  A. Introduction 5
  B. The Dialectic and Social Change 6
  C. The Perceived Democratisation of Sport 8
    Myth and Reality 8
    State Involvement in Sport 9
    The Pervasiveness of Soccer Culture 13
  D. The Perceived Democratisation of Ethnocultural Processes 14
    Ethnicity and Culture 14
    From Assimilation to Multiculturalism 18
  E. Capital Accumulation and Legitimation of the Canadian State 23
  F. Ideological Socialisation and the Communications Industries 26
  G. Conclusion 29
III. METHODS, PROCEDURES AND CONSIDERATIONS 31
  A. Introduction 31
  B. The Utility and Limitations of Phenomenological Sociology 34
  C. Historical Materials and Content Analysis. 39
  D. Participant Observation and Interviewing 41
  E. Conclusion 44
IV. A HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION AND THE CANADIAN EXPERIENCE OF ITALIANS 45
  A. Introduction 45
  B. Prior to 1950 48
  C. Post 1950 53
  D. Conclusion 59

V. FROM FOLK-FOOTBALL TO THE NORTH AMERICAN SOCCER LEAGUE 62
- A. Introduction 62
- B. Historical Development of Football in England and North America 66
- C. Italians and Sport 74
- D. Italians and Soccer 75
- E. Related Research 77
- F. The State Bureaucracy of Soccer 82
- G. Elite Amateur Soccer 86
- H. Professional Players: Entertainers or Commodities? 87
- I. Commercial Soccer and the Edmonton Drillers of the N.A.S.L. 91
- J. Conclusion 99

VI. THE ITAL.-CANADIAN SOCCER TEAM 101
- A. Introduction 101
- B. Team Success 102
- C. Multiculturalism and Soccer: Friendly Competition or Cultural Conflict? 107
- D. Perception of the E.D.S.A., The University, The Drillers and the Media 112
- E. Liberal Values 114
- F. Conservative Values 116
  - The Family and the Community 117
  - The Coach 119
- G. Conclusion 122

VII. THE BAR ITALIA IN EDMONTON, THE PUBLIC MEDIA AND THE F.I.F.A. WORLD CUP TOURNAMENT IN SPAIN, 1982 124
- A. Introduction 124
- B. The Bar Italia and the World Cup Final 126
- C. Team Affiliation and Italian Nationalism 134
- D. Football Zealotry 135
- E. Ritualised Conflict 137
- F. Politics, Ideology and Manipulation 138
- G. Cultural Stereotypes and the Media 142

- H. Canada and the World Cup 144
- I. Conclusion 147

VIII. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 149
- A. Summary 149
- B. Conclusion 152
- C. Recommendations 153

IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY 155

X. APPENDIX 163
- A. Background 163
- B. Collection and Analysis of Data 164
- C. Further Observations and Recommendations 164

List of Tables

Table 1 - Number Of Immigrants Arriving From Italy, 1967-73 57

Table 2 - Number Of Immigrants Arriving From Italy And the Numbers Destined For Alberta, 1970-80 57

Table 3 - Population Figures By Ethnicity And Mother Tongue For Specified Areas, 1971 and 1981 59

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A. Introduction

The theme for this research topic was initially generated by my active involvement with a soccer team which competed against the Ital.-Canadians during the Edmonton District Soccer Association's indoor season of 1980-81. The Ital.-Canadian players and their coach agreed to be the central figures in a participant observation study during the months of February, March and April 1981. The purpose of the study was to question whether their participation in soccer **either** reinforced ethnic identity or contributed to their acculturation and assimilation into the core-society. The need for such a study had been indicated by Gerald Redmond.

> [In Canada]...comparatively little research by any kind of social scientists has been undertaken into the relationships between sport and ethnicity (1978: 3).

The findings from this pilot study were presented in a paper as partial fulfilment of the requirements of a graduate course on research methods in sport sociology. However, the fact that I was unable to answer the question, in absolute terms, served not only to impress upon me the limitations of positivism but also to convince me to pursue the subject area as a thesis topic.

Moreover, it became apparent that a study of culture and cultural forms such as sport should be related to historical and structural considerations at the macrotheoretical level as well as at the microtheoretical level. Thus, the present study evolved into an ethnography of the Italian ethnocultural group, their experiences with regard to work, settlement and culture transmission and their involvement in soccer, as a sport form. An analysis of individual and group perceptions was assessed in terms of an historical and critical evaluation of state policies pertaining to class and ethnic culture, as well as in terms of the development of sport in Canada.

The consideration of sport as a manifestation of culture affords the possibility of understanding sport forms as more than a mere reflection of society. Indeed, this thesis is an attempt to demonstrate that soccer culture is a sufficiently pervasive phenomenon to possess a relatively autonomous meaning structure while at the same time providing fertile ground for the reproduction and transmission of meritocratic liberal values and hierarchical conservative values.

Multiculturalism is an official ideology and a state policy. It is also a reflection of cultural diversity in Canada and a social force which influences many aspects of the social structure. A theoretical and practical analysis of the relationships between soccer and multiculturalism might, therefore, be pertinent to a more general understanding of sport in Canada. Furthermore, as multiculturalism and sport forms appear to be pervasive cultural phenomena and dominant aspects of Canadian life, it would seem appropriate to examine their role in the maintenance of the Canadian State.

B. The Purpose of the Study

In his response to the presentations by Richard Gruneau and Ian Taylor, published in Sport, Culture and the Modern State, Wallace Clement concluded by asking that they both address the fundamental question of how a society reproduces itself, how social change takes place and what the role of culture (specifically sport) is within this reproduction (1982: 101).[1] The general purpose of this study is to address Clement's questions by considering the connections between the development of soccer (as a sport form) and the production, reproduction and modification of the social and cultural relationships which created and have maintained the Canadian State.

The specific purpose of this study is to address the following questions:

1. What are the historical interconnections and interdependencies between Italian culture and the development of association football or soccer in relation to a dominant capitalist system and a dominant Anglo-American

---

[1] This book is a compilation of papers presented, and the responses elicited, at the Queen's University Conference held in Kingston, Ontario in October 1979.

culture?

2. Is the practice of multiculturalism congruent with the theory of multiculturalism among the various administrative levels of soccer within the Canadian State?

In order to achieve this purpose, the following questions are also addressed:

1. Why did so many people emigrate from the Italian peninsula?
2. What were their experiences in North America?
3. How has their culture been reproduced and modified over time?

The study seeks to demonstrate that soccer culture is not only a symbolically meaningful activity, but also a sufficiently pervasive phenomenon that it can be instrumental in both promoting capitalism from its economic base and in aiding the process of ideological socialisation. Furthermore, by bringing attention to the contradictions inherent in the production and reproduction of this phenomenon, it may be possible to indicate where sport might be a factor in the transformation of social relationships.

C. Need for the Study

The need for a study of the interrelationships between soccer, multiculturalism and the Canadian State were succinctly stated by Richard Gruneau and Hart Cantelon:

> Yet, remarkably, there is a very real silence in this literature [sport sociology] on the role of sport in cultural production and its relationships to class and state power. Given the great visibility of sport in modern life, its increasing association with the state and its centrality in working class culture in the majority of capitalist societies, this silence is absolutely mystifying (1982: xii).

D. Format of the Thesis

The theoretical framework and the working definitions of the thesis are outlined in Chapter II. In Chapter III, there is an overview of the pertinent methodological literature and an explanation of its relevance for the macrotheoretical and the microtheoretical analyses contained in subsequent chapters. Chapter IV provides background information on Italian immigration to Canada, the government's policy on multiculturalism and their application to an understanding of Italian-Canadian involvement in soccer. The development of football in North America, in the context of the formation of class relationships in England and colonial Canada, forms the subject matter of Chapter V. Chapter VI is a microtheoretical account of the Ital.-Canadian soccer team and Chapter VII is a continuation and expansion of this theme into the Italian community during the 1982 World Cup tournament. The role of the media and their impact upon soccer culture during the World Cup is also included in this chapter. A summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations comprise Chapter VIII. An appendix is also included which offers a more personal account of the procedures used and experiences encountered during an extended period of participant observation.

II. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

A. Introduction

Consideration of the following three fundamental questions lays the foundation for this thesis.

1. **What** are the interrelationships, in practice, of soccer (as a sport form), multiculturalism (as an ideology and a policy) and the Canadian State?
2. **Why** do the interrelationships of soccer, multiculturalism and the Canadian State exist?
3. **Who** has been involved in the production of the interrelationships of soccer, multiculturalism and the Canadian State?

In order to address these questions, the theoretical presuppositions and the working definitions of this thesis should be made explicit.

An understanding of the dialetic and social change, as the theoretical framework of this thesis, is presented in the second section of this chapter. The third and fourth sections will introduce two of the major manifestations of social reform within the Canadian State which are considered to be symptomatic of a social democracy based on meritocratic, liberal principles. Government involvement in sport and the pervasiveness of soccer culture are discussed in relation to the myth and reality of democratisation in sport. Multiculturalism is discussed in relation to ethnicity, culture and the theory of assimilation and to the perceived democratisation of ethnocultural processes.

The fifth section provides an overview of the concepts of accumulation and legitimation, the impelling forces behind the logic of capitalism, and their application to Canadian society. State policies on immigration have traditionally provided the human resources (often trained at the expense of other nations) for the economic base of capitalist development while processes of accommodation and programmes of social reform have provided the ideological (political, legal and social) superstructure for the legitimation of hegemony. The role of ideological socialisation and the communications industries in the legitimation process are discussed in the sixth section. Concluding remarks on the theoretical chapter are drawn in the final section.

B. The Dialectic and Social Change

Dialectics, in the Marxian sense of the word, is both a theory of social change and a method for analysing the processes involved in the transformation of institutions and for understanding the people who created these institutions. This thesis is an attempt to substantiate a theory of social change, in the Marxian tradition, by analysing the historical development of the institution of sport (specifically soccer) and its relationship to the transformation of Canadian society.

The word 'dialectic' has its origins in the art of debate, the skill of revealing contradictions in an opponent's argument. Marx's dialectic, unlike the Chinese, Greek or Hegelian dialectic, is critical, transformative and committed. There is no attempt to be 'value-free' but there is an attempt to be scientifically objective (Mirkovic, 1980: preface). Furthermore, the dialectic is not reducible to the dichotomous order/conflict debate as both stability and change are aspects of the same reality of social existence.

The thesis, antithesis, synthesis triad is the basis of dialectics. Mirkovic (1980) and Cornforth (1978: 92) point to *contradiction* and *totality* as the crucial concepts in any understanding of dialectics. Contradiction is inherent in the very nature of phenomena and is the dynamic force for qualitative change. Totality means that phenomena cannot be analysed statistically or in isolation as they are interrelated and interconnected. By studying the totality we come to understand the principle of unity and conflict of opposites whereby related phenomena depend on each other for their existence and each is responsible for, and affected by, the other's movement; contradiction is revealed in this relationship as the motive force for change and development. According to Cornforth, development refers to processes of advancement as modified forms continually emerge, rather than cyclical change. "Development is change proceeding according to its own internal laws from stage to stage" (ibid: 81).

Change and development indicate a time dimension. As Mirkovic shows, history and dialectic are closely related.

> Dialectic is primarily a theory of social change. History, in general terms, is largely a study of changes in human societies. Thus dialectic, as a theory of change of man's distinctive reality is inextricably related to the history of mankind. In other words, the dialectic is inherently historical, and every authentic human history is dialectical (ibid: 135).

Essential for a comprehension of the dialectic of social change is an analysis of the relationship between the object dialectic (historical reality) and the subject dialectic (consciousness and cognition). Therefore, microtheoretical studies of individual and group (class and/or ethnocultural) interaction must be related to macrotheoretical studies (historical and cultural). Mirkovic explains that "dialectical thought is seen as a heuristic device to aid man in his effort to penetrate below the surface of semblance" (ibid: 59).

In the introduction to his book Mirkovic states:

> In very general terms, dialectical thought could be described tentatively as a mode of viewing historical reality in its totality, in terms of its immanent contradictions leading to qualitative change and transformation of the existing social relations (ibid: 5).

Dialectics is a humanistic endeavour and, as we trace the relationship between individual action and societal interests, we learn not to think in absolute terms. Humans cannot be absolved from, or abrogate responsibilty for the organisation of society, for the simple reason that a dialectical understanding of social progress holds us accountable for our actions. By uniting theory with action (praxis) and knowledge with conviction, we become committed to social change which is neither oppressive nor exploitive.

Social change, in the Marxian tradition, implies the progressive development of societal organisation, but capitalism has been sustained by the adoption of scientific and technological advancement. However, this has also necessitated the centralised and concentrated accumulation of capital and has revealed more clearly the major contradiction of capitalism--the continued private appropriation of production concomitant with an ever increasing socialisation of production. These conflicting elements are manifest in commercial soccer and in the growth of recreational soccer in North America and they may, ultimately, aid in the transformation of society.

C. The Perceived Democratisation of Sport

Myth and Reality

Culture is considered to be the material and intellectual result of the creative ability of human beings. Sport, as a cultural form, may be understood as a specific manifestation of an ideological superstructure in relation to its mode of production. Sport is an integral part of modern culture and identification with sport forms has become so pervasive in western societies that many observers have confidently announced that this perception of democracy in sport is indicative of a more general democratisation of capitalist society. This thesis attempts to repudiate the proposition at two levels.

Firstly, sport is not a self-regulating entity which can be extrapolated from everyday life and studied as a phenomenon in isolation from other societal realities. It is, above all, a social phenomenon, a manifestation of individual and group creativity, a ritualised activity of anthropological significance, an historical insight into the social relationships of specific cultures and a mode of production in capitalist societies. The relationship between state ideology and sport has intensified in relation to the development of a capitalist mode of production and, through the process of rationalisation, it has been transformed by private appropriation into a business enterprise and reduced to a marketable commodity, ultimately for the purposes of accumulation. Moreover, as Wohl (1975) points out, sport also possesses relative independence as it has specific meaning structures and prescribed values which may be partially autonomous.

Sport, then, is more than a mere reflection of society; it does not necessarily directly correspond with societal changes, nor does it automatically create changes in society. Indeed, specifically because sport forms are rule bound and highly rationalised activities and because those people who are involved in its production either tend to be more conservative, or become more conservative through their involvement, sport tends to be resistant to change and therefore contributes to the maintenance of the status quo, or legitimation of the state. Many sport forms tend to be conservative because of their origins, those who have traditionally had access to participation in them and those who have controlled them. However, a sport form, through the mediating influence of its producers, the media, its administrators and its active and passive participants is actively involved, in dialectical fashion, in recreating the meaningful and symbolic behaviour of cultures from their material base.

Secondly, more analytical observers (Beamish, 1978; Curtis and Milton, 1976; Gruneau, 1976a, 1976b & 1980; Hall, 1968 ; Helmes, 1978; Kidd, 1979; Metcalf, 1974; Simpson, 1983) have produced data and arguments which strongly refute the validity of the rhetoric which has advanced the claims that sport personifies the classlessness of Canadian society and that, in reality, it has never provided more than an arena for token class, ethnic and gender democracy.

State Involvement in Sport

The symbiotic relationship of industrialisation and urbanisation in the capitalist mode of production created the conditions for the development of bourgeois sport in Western Europe in the late nineteenth century. Retardation of this process in Canada was due to the semi-feudal, mercantalist and conservative control of the Dominion, the limited population base and the lack of state control over the exploitation of natural resources. The logic of capitalism is based on the division of labour whereby intensive specialisation leads to increased productivity and the centralised accumulation of capital. Canada, through her immigration policies, has been able to build ethnocultural specialisation into the division of labour.

Leisure sport, as the prerogative of the elite class who reproduced themselves through ascription, increasingly became an area of interest for the rising bourgeoisie who began to accumulate capital and free themselves from productive labour. Their class, based on achieved status, had little patience with the social etiquette displayed by the traditional elite class. As a consequence, amateurism, as a form of class closure, grew out of the moral utilitarianism of conservatism as a response to the rational utilitarianism of liberalism. However, professionalisation of sport was merely delayed as the transfer of power was already in progress. The organisation of labour is a cultural response to the growth of urbanisation and industrialisation in the capitalist mode and as a consequence the demands for social reforms have to be met as a necessary condition for the continuation of capitalism. Increased time apart from productive labour is but one of these conditions.

However, increased 'leisure time' for the working-class was considered to be problematic for three reasons. Firstly, it was believed that non-productive use of time would lower the moral fibre of the workforce as they indulged in drinking and gambling. Secondly, there were concerns that the time might be used for self-education and the formation of unlawful associations which might prove to be a threat to the system. Thirdly, as 'leisure time' increased it became obvious that this was time lost to capitalist accumulation. As explained by Bruce Kidd, the Canadian State has always been involved in the production of sport.

> The assumption by the state for the provision of opportunities for sport and physical education has been closely connected with capital accumulation and legitimation (1979: 35).

The history of state intervention in the production of sport forms for public consumption, material support for individual and group advancement, the protection of the 'rights' of private appropriation for capital accumulation and the relationship of sport to the division of labour, are documented in great detail by the aforementioned authors.

In reviewing the pertinent literature on sporting activity in Canada, following a similar analysis in Australia, Michael Dixon draws the following conclusion:

> The development of post-industrial society has produced a situation in which leisure, and its management, has become increasingly important.

> In response to this situation various governments and other interested bodies have, for various reasons, sought to promote regular participation in physical activity. Their efforts have, to a certain extent, been rewarded by a great interest in sport and exercise and the attendant service industries have flourished. However, participation in physical activity has, for the most part, been confined to people considered to belong to the upper levels of the status hierarchy in society (1982: 15).

What are the various reasons for governmental involvement in the production and promotion of sport forms?

Concern has been expressed over the desirability of maintaining a physically fit workforce and an able population, especially during periods of international crisis. Presumably such a population would be better able to defend the state, physically and ideologically. The presumption that a reduction in medical expenses and subsequent reduction of the burden on the welfare state would result from the promotion of sport, has also been a major consideration in state intervention. Theoretically, improved physical fitness in the workforce not only enhances the efficiency of the individual worker, but also increases productivity and results in a reduction in total hours lost to productive labour. State intervention has also served to protect the interests of corporate sport by means of legal and economic incentives and public subsidisation. Finally, the encouragement of more intensive identification with sport forms may result in the people being less disposed to follow the manoeuvering of state capitalism or be unduly dissatisfied with its results.

What has been referred to as 'free time' or 'leisure' might be more appropriately named 'consumer time'. Numerous forms of industrialised leisure are produced for workers' consumption outside the hours of productive labour. Sport could be perceived as a relatively democratised cultural form provided that the individual had sufficient disposable income, sufficient time away from productive labour and the desire to participate in sport forms. The majority of these sport forms are derived from the reclamation of a portion of his/her wages by the owners of the leisure facilities and equipment production companies.

Technological advancements in the communications industries, advanced market research techniques and a deeper penetration into the consciousness of people through psychological experimentation, have allowed for the possibility of more subtle persuasion techniques in the process of creating images. The presentation of sport forms has, in recent times, been directed towards education in the hope that behaviour modification would follow. 'Lifestyle management', 'sense of coherence', 'individual self-worth', 'holistic education', are all terms directed towards the prevention of mental and physical pathology. However, the onus of responsiblity is always placed on the individual to take corrective action to improve his/her well-being. As Ronald Labonte so aptly points out, our lifestyle affects our health but so does our income level and the condition of our collective environment.

> Education and information are important tools, but their use, at least in health promotion, betrays a political tradition of ignoring the basic class structure of Canadian society. Not everyone, and certainly not the seven million or so Canadians who hover around or beneath the poverty line, can afford ten-speeds, jogging shoes, raquetball club memberships or even healthy and sufficient food (1982: 54).

Moreover:

> Our personal decisions to maximize our own physical and mental health are not unimportant. But to carp about the vagaries of individual indulgencies while ignoring socio-economic forces that condition and constrain such behaviour, and to remain mute about the broader sources of disease and injury, is political sophistry (ibid: 55).

It may be agreed that sport forms can be physically and mentally regenerative, can provide the individual with enjoyable and exciting experiences and can be symbolically and culturally significant. In addition, it should be recognised that increasing state intervention in sport and extensive media persuasion to identify with and actively or passively consume sport, may also mean that the conditions for capitalist accumulation are partly maintained through the people's affiliation with sport forms. This affiliation, which may encourage an active support of capitalism or a lack of interest in political and economic affairs, is a subject which is referred to throughout this thesis.

The Pervasiveness of Soccer Culture

Richard Helmes states that sport forms must be "sufficiently meaningful to a sufficiently large number of individuals" if there is to be the possibility of "value transfer" which he believes to be the basis of the process of political socialisation. "Sufficiently meaningful" refers to the degree to which individuals "strongly identify" with sport forms (1978: 3).

This thesis is an attempt to demonstrate that soccer culture is a pervasive phenomenon and a symbolically meaningful 'leisure time' activity for a significant number of active and passive participants in Canada. Soccer culture, therefore, may provide fertile ground for the reproduction and transfer of meritocratic liberal values (the dominant ideology of capitalist society), and facilitate ideological socialisation and legitimation of the state. Values are important because they help to develop standards and guidelines which establish appropriate and inappropriate behaviour in certain situations.

By studying the phenomenon of soccer in its totality we begin to comprehend the interrelationships among all its participants, both active and passive, and the historical interdependencies between the game and a culture which nurtures it and the interconnections between cultures. Culture is understood to be both a horizontal and a vertical variable; that is, culture differentiates people by national or ethnic characteristics as well as by class characteristics within a national or ethnic category. Furthermore, the culture of soccer cuts across ethnocultural barriers and, to a lesser extent, across class barriers.

The development of the game of soccer is considered in light of the development of capitalism in England and in North America. The symbiotic relationship of urbanisation and professionalism, whereby soccer became a form of wage labour, a consumer commodity and a symbol for cultural identification of mass appeal, is also considered. State intervention is evaluated, as is the media's influence on the direction and progress of the game in North America.

By utilising participant observation methodology and by attempting to understand the dynamics and mechanisms of the collective life of the people who are involved in the reproduction of this culture, it may be possible to proffer an explanation of the relationships between individual sporting performances and a player's position in the structure of a team and the relationship between the team and a specific ethnocultural community.

A major consideration of the process of legitimation will be to analyse the value system which appears to be acceptable within the soccer subculture and compare it with the value system of the dominant ideology (individuality, competitiveness, aggression, dominance, masculinity, technical efficiency, achievement, punctuality, etc.) which may, in turn, be mediated or reinforced by the values transmitted through the process of Italian ethnocultural socialisation. In addition, because of sport's resistance to change, it may still be possible to discern the conservative values of 'Muscular Christianity' (competitiveness mediated by fairness and losing with honour, leadership, deference to authority, group loyality and team discipline, etc.).

Finally, it may be possible to demystify the paradox of whether ethnoculturally organised soccer provides a forum for friendly competition or cultural conflict and draw conclusions as to whether the official state ideology of cultural pluralism (rather than assimilation) is reproduced in the various administrative levels of organised soccer. The construction of a more general theory of how the social conditions for material production in the capitalist mode are maintained and reproduced through the pervasive and influential medium of the soccer culture is also attempted.

D. The Perceived Democratisation of Ethnocultural Processes

Ethnicity and Culture

The North American Aboriginal terms DENE and INUIT have much the same English meaning as the Greek words ETHNOS--NATION--or LAOS--PEOPLE. Bromley defines an ethnos as:

> ...a historically established community of people, characterised by common, relatively stable cultural features, certain distinctive

> psychological traits and also by an awareness of their identity and distinctiveness from other similar communities (1974: 36).

The adjective ETHNIC is derived from the Greek noun and ETHNIC GROUP, ETHNIC COMMUNITY and ETHNICITY have replaced ethnos in English usage. The concept of ethnicity, as defined by Hughes and Kallen, retains the biological criteria associated with the definition of RACE and incorporates them into socio-cultural criteria:

> ...[Ethnicity] refers to any arbitrary classification of human populations utilizing the bio-cultural criterion of actual or assumed ancestry in conjunction with socio-cultural criteria as actual or assumed nationality and religion (1976: 83).

However, they do agree that the most important factor underlying this generic concept is that of peoplehood or common ancestry thereby indicating some degree of cultural stability and cultural reproduction.

The term ETHNOGRAPHY denotes the field of knowledge which unites theoretical and descriptive studies of the peoples of the world ranging from tribes to nations. There are, however, no clearly defined boundaries. For example, the Dene are a formerly organised group of tribes who call themselves a nation but who, in fact, possess very few autonomous organisational features of a nation state.

It is apparent that by referring to people as being members of an ethnic group we are consciously or unconsciously categorising human communities, and that by using criteria related to the 'we/they' distinctions, we are consequently comparing one community with another.[2] However, the attempt to establish the essence and specificity of an ethnos is equally as important as distinguishing one group from another (Bromley, 1974: 20). This relationship was discussed at a Canadian Ethnic Studies Association Conference where one speaker concluded that micro level studies should complement macro level studies in developing understanding and knowledge by learning what is meaningful for the group from the 'inside' (Herberg, 1981). The contrasting of one's own community with another helps to determine and consolidate one's ethnic distinction and thus bind the community together. A community cannot exist without some form of group distinction. Thus, the unity of the externally distinctive features of a community is an indication of its internal integrity (Bromley, 1974: 21).

---

[2] The objective criteria and the subjective perception and stereotyping of ethnicity are considered in detail in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 of Alan Anderson and James Frideres (1981) Ethnicity in Canada.

A soccer team, by wearing distinctive colours, demonstrates group unity and readiness to be temporarily opposed to another group, thereby defining a we/they categorisation which may or may not be a manifestation of an ethnos. In the case of the Ital.-Canadians who objectively attach themselves to a nation state through the use of their title, their language, their team colours, the physical behaviour of their playing and their stability as a group, there is an obvious relationship with an ethnos.

The differentiation of peoples by culture is the basis of ethnicity. It may be manifest in a common origin, language, customs, religion, in ethnic self-consciousness or in shared psychological traits and stereotypes of themselves and other groups. Bromley believes that culture is made up of the sum total of non-biological, human activity and that:

> Culture includes the activity of people as expressed in their actions and deeds, and not only materialised labour (ibid: 28)...[and that] activity is the fundamental characteristic of human beings (ibid: 27).

Activity refers to practical work for maintaining one's existence and the aesthetic activities of oral and written communication and psychological activity. This thesis considers the material culture and the non-material culture of the Italian people; that is, the mode of existence, the social practices and the organisation of life in general which is dependent on the degree of cohesion and integration of the community. This is especially true of an ethnically organised soccer team. The standards of acceptable behaviour are incorporated in the cultural values and beliefs of the community. Symbolic culture, especially language, makes it possible for communication of individual experience into social experience. Cultural reproduction is dependent upon the level of cultural stability whereby the traditional culture is transmitted from generation to generation.

The gradual process of migration to North America began perhaps 40,000 years ago when the people of Asia pursued the wildlife across the

Bering Straits land bridge. Approximately 400 years ago the French and British began to establish their cultures on the Continent and the process of mass migration was encouraged towards the end of the 19th Century, in a controlled manner and in direct relationship to the development of statehood, industrialisation and capitalism.

The Italian people, as part of this migration, have endured tremendous changes in their physical and social environment and in their material culture. However, new conditions of existence do not necessarily mean that traditional ethnic features have not been reproduced. Much of the original culture has been maintained by its individual carriers and passed on from generation to generation. For example, soccer is not ideally suited to the climatic conditions of Canada, nor is it a game of national significance, yet various cultures have managed to retain its symbolic meaning despite the new conditions of existence.

Traditionally, much of the work on categorisation of peoples has tended to rely heavily on their physical characteristics. Inferences have usually been made about their behavioural characteristics and ultimately about the cognitive processes which are believed to direct behaviour. This has often produced a closed and racially stereotypical classification system. However, ethnic or racial distinction and classification does not necessarily lead to racism unless there exists a general belief in the innate inequality of peoples. As capitalism developed so too did the science of human classification. The division of people by race and by perceived innate capabilities grew out of, and substantiated, the division of people by class and a belief in the natural order of phenomena.

The pursuit of a deeper understanding of the dynamics of cultural production and reproduction requires more detailed analysis and comprehension of the cognitive activity of individuals, their levels of ethnic consciousness and their perceptions of social reality. This process has implications for the nature/nurture debate. Bromley explains that:

> Man's cultural achievements and his social historical experience are not of course, passed on genetically. This experience is transmitted from one human generation to the next through learning and imitation, i.e., through the 'socialisation of the individual' (ibid: 31).

An example of this in sport sociology is the relationship between the theory that natural aggression needs socially-sanctioned outlets and the theory that socialisation teaches us to be aggressive in certain situations. This debate has further implications for ethnically organised soccer and is the subject of subsequent chapters in this thesis.

From Assimilation to Multiculturalism

On October 8, 1971 the Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre Trudeau, announced his government's policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" (House of Commons Debates 1971: 8545), and he proceeded to outline the official ideology which espoused "the doctrine of cultural pluralism rather than assimilation" (Anderson and Frideres, 1980: 11). His statement institutionalised the theory that national unity could be achieved by promoting cultural diversity, thereby officially replacing conservative assimilationist policies with liberal integrationist policies. The rationale was that Canadianisation could ultimately be achieved by encouraging people to believe in individual freedom of thought and expression, whereby prejudicial attitudes would diminish as cultural awareness and inter-group understanding developed.

The theory of assimilation implies that the dominant or majority group maintains its control over the access to decision-making processes of state affairs while the subordinate or minority group must conform to the standards of conduct as decreed by the superordinate group. In the case of Canadian society, assimilationist policies have been manifest in Anglo-conformity.

The model is idealistic as it assumes a one-way process of acculturation or enculturation and the demise of the ancestral culture and social institutions of the ethnic minority. It also assumes that the power differential between groups remains constant. However, specifically because the model requires the maintenance of the status quo or Anglo-domination, ethnocentrism in the superordinate group severely restricts the movement of subordinate groups into the social, political and economic spheres of the elite. Moreover, it assumes that differences amongst people are merely cultural (in the non-material sense of the word), therefore disregarding the obvious fact that each ethnic group is also differentiated, to varying degrees, by class and by generation. Individuals, therefore, may be accepted into the dominant institutions.

In reality, groups are differentiated by material culture (the objects which satisfy material needs) and non-material culture (language, customs, social institutions, values, religion, etc.). Culture, in general, is maintained, transmitted and modified mainly through selective socialisation processes. On contact, conflict between groups may occur but if one is to become dominant and maintain its position it must a) be willing and able to enforce servility on the other group(s), and/or b) be prepared to accommodate the other(s) to some degree in order to achieve a consensus position or conformity by perceived consensus. Therefore, acceptance of periodic, gradual or limited change by the dominant group not only manages to reduce or avoid conflict but in effect the subordinate group(s) may accept (or be forced to accept) its (their) position and, through time, it may accept the material and non-material culture of the dominant group. Thus, a stratified society is perpetuated with the general agreement of the people even though the situation, in terms of access to decision-making processes, remains relatively unaltered.

Superordinate and subordinate groups are dialectically related as in the theory of the unity of opposites. That is, one can only exist as a consequence of, and in relation to, the existence of the other (Anglo majority group/Italian minority group; the bourgeoisie/the proletariat). Moreover, ethnic culture is also directly related to working-class culture in Canada. This is a dynamic process as levels of migration and immigration, generational maturation and endogamy, cultural socialisation and enculturation through state institutions precipitate some degree of social change in all groups.

Liberal philosophy has been more able to discern and accept objective social reality than has conservative philosophy; consequently, the Liberal Party has been more willing to adopt national policies which would be less antagonistic to ethnocultural minorities. Moreover, the continued drive for capitalist growth and accumulation has necessitated a concomitant growth of the labour force and of mass culture. This aim has been achieved by encouraging immigration and by transforming a rural society into a consumer-oriented industrial society. However, Canada remains, primarily, a producer country of raw materials while the industrial base is predominantly controlled by American capital.

Ethnic consciousness in Canada developed from both the natural tendency for people from similar cultural groups to identify with a common language and shared values, and as a reaction to the alienation felt by the individual resulting from the movement towards the uniformity of mass culture. By actively supporting the reproduction of ethnic consciousness the Liberal Party has managed to sustain its hold over political power and present a picture of relative ethnocultural harmony, as well as effectively dissipate movements towards class consciousness.

In retrospect, assimilationist policies appeared to be too direct, too harsh when enforced, unattainable and undesirable at the structural level. Moreover, it is now possible to admit openly that these policies were also racialist in practice. Liberal philosophy, and more gradually Liberal policy, has adopted cultural pluralism which has been referred to as the cultural mosaic of Canada.[3]

> The cultural pluralism model requires that processes of acculturation and assimilation be limited and controlled. Cultural pluralism requires some (unspecified) degree of integration (acculturation and assimilation) on the part of constituent groupings, necessary for effective participation (proportionate representation) of their members within the public sphere of secondary, societal institutions. At the same time the cultural pluralism model requires some (unspecified) degree of social segregation on the part of ethnic groupings, necessary for the maintenance and growth of the distinctive (ancestral) culture, identity and integrity of the various ethnic groups (Hughes and Kallen, 1976: 186).

The belief is that national unity can ultimately be achieved by promoting cultural diversity:

> A society predicated on cultural pluralism could, at the same time, encourage a common sense of national identity and a distinctive sense of ancestral or ethnic identity (ibid).

---

[3] Contempory Conservative rhetoric leads one to believe that, were they in power, their policies would hardly differ from those presently in existence, for both parties would pursue the same goals--the maintenance of power and the continuation of capitalism.

Multiculturalism is a derivative of cultural pluralism. The idealistic model of cultural pluralism assumes that, as individuals and as members of an ethnic category, we wish to retain a distinctive identity and heritage whereas multiculturalism recognises the fact that some people will prefer not to perpetuate their heritage but will prefer to identify with mainstream Canadian society and make every effort to assimilate. Typically, the Liberal rhetoric is based on the premise of individual thought and action.

Anderson and Frideres point out that:

> Despite the relatively small size of the budget allocation to multiculturalism, the programs and activities funded through multicultural grants have enjoyed high visibilty through advertising in the ethnic press and widespread media coverage given to multicultural events (1981: 315).

Moreover, Hughes and Kallen (p.190) and Anderson and Frideres (p. 315) agree that many of these programmes and activities have emphasised the preservation of traditional arts and crafts and 'folk' or 'museum' culture rather than focusing on the historical reality of ethnocultural migration and the experiences of people undergoing the process of integration. The myth of multiculturalism is perpetuated by romanticising ethnic history and the vagueness of the mandate of multicultural bodies indicates that multicultural policy lacks "consistency, clarity and continuity in both its interpretation and administration" (Anderson and Frideres, ibid: 320).

The school system, historically an agent of enculturation in tandem with the Church, has also been the subject of criticism for its limited consideration of multicultural education and its paternalism towards cultural minorities. In their book, Whose Culture? Whose Heritage? Ethnicity within Canadian Social Studies Curricula, Werner et. al. point out that "educators need to be aware of cultural bias in order to make corrections" (1980: 4) and that "On the whole, school programmes reflect this dominant cultural perspective" (ibid: 7). Not surprisingly, stereotyping is perpetuated by the family, in the schools and through the mass media. Werner et. al. state that in the development of social studies programmes:

> Decision making moves from the top downwards, with the ethnic groups under study having little control over what is studied about

> them, how it is studied, and from whose point of view. The legitimate frame of reference used in social education is defined by the experts alone (ibid: 52).[4]

It has been argued that multiculturalism is merely a more humanistic form of socialisation than are assimilationist policies.

> Multicultural policy of minority ethnic integration, is in effect, a modified version of the (old) dominant group conformity model, now officially allowing for persistence of the ancestral culture of ethnic minorities and unofficially ensuring that they are maintained in a subordinate position (Hughes and Kallen, ibid: 191).

More abrasively, Karl Peter argues that the policy is, indirectly, a denial of ethnic group access to economic or political power. In these terms multiculturalism may be viewed as a relatively efficient form of social control, a rite of passage into the mass culture of corporate controlled North America or, more optimistically, it might be transformed into what Peter refers to as "true multiculturalism":

> ...the mobilization of intellectual resources and political powers on the part of all ethnic groups put into the service of revitalizing and restructuring a Canada for the twenty-first century--a Canada that is built by all for the benefit of all (1981: 66).

In a similar vein, Paul Willis observed, in his study of class and cultural reproduction in England, that if social change is to come about which is developmental and not oppressive for the working-class, then "the cultural must become more political and the political must become more cultural" (1978: 193).

Researchers in Canadian ethnic studies have dismissed the idealisation of the Canadian cultural mosaic as the antithesis of the facile American melting pot theory. However, the following paragraph from The Charter of Rights and Freedoms is indicative of the myopic historicism and romantic characterisation of the harsh realities of ethnocultural reproduction in Canada.

> Canadians are proud that this country has not become a melting pot, but has maintained its multicultural character. This is officially recognised in the Constitution under the provisions of the Charter stating that it shall be interpreted in such a way as to maintain and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canada (1982: 30).

---

[4] Anderson and Frideres state that "The Province of Alberta seems to have gone the farthest in establishing courses in ethnic languages or about ethnic cultures" (1981: 318). This point may be significant for a liberal who believes it to be a response to Alberta's multicultural heritage. It may also be significant to one who views multiculturalism as a form of social control, for it is well known that Alberta's Conservative Government works very closely with those companies who have business interests in the Province.

In conclusion, multiculturalism is also idealistic as it is predicated on the assumption of an egalitarian and relatively harmonious ethnocultural system while, in reality, Canada is essentially a class-based and ethnically stratified society.

E. Capital Accumulation and Legitimation of the Canadian State

A potentially transient labour force, not bound to a landed class by reciprocal obligation but bound to an industrial property owning class by contractual 'agreements' whereby labour power is exchanged for wages, is a necessary condition for the formation and maintenance of material production in the capitalist mode. Private appropriation of the means of production and the centralised accumulation of power necessitated a regeneration of economic conditions and social policies in a vast geographic land mass. More than a vestige of feudalism continued to dictate the course of social relationships in the colony which lacked a population base and statehood.

Statehood, as a political aspiration, was justified on the basis of the existing economic model of capitalism in Europe and in America and fueled by concerns for the latter's expansionist posturing. The creation of a labour force for the development of the wage contract and the division of labour has been sustained by immigration since Confederation. An examination of the history of state policies on immigration in relation to the growth of capitalism is, therefore, indispensable.

The questions regarding which ethnocultural groups would be encouraged to immigrate on the grounds of physical, cultural and ideological (political and religious) acceptability and in what numbers they should be allowed to enter, have traditionally been the concerns of the conservative landowners, mercantilists, bankers and the clergy. They were the former power holders, known generically as the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (W.A.S.P.) elite.[5]

---

[5] The terms W.A.S.P. and Anglo-Domination should not be strictly interpreted. They should be considered more in light of the underlying values which elite classes from the British Isles tended to share and perpetuate in North America. English and Scottish males, in particular, became entrepreneurs and politicians. Like the English and Welsh, the Scots were members of denominational churches subsumed under the Protestant umbrella. The majority of the Irish were

The liberal bourgeoisie, while not distancing themselves too drastically from these considerations, have been more concerned about profit maximisation, the essence of the entrepreneurial drive which created their class. Successive immigration policies have been comprised of various blends of both philosophies. They have been manifest in more 'open-door' administration in order to create surplus labour, and in reactionary and highly selective limitations of entry on a worldwide population migration. These factors, coupled with the periodic crises of international overproduction, are the causes of what has been referred to as cyclical migration.[6]

The Canadian elite, then, have maintained power and perpetuated the conditions for material production in the capitalist mode, ultimately for the purposes of accumulation. However, of secondary importance to production is the need for a consumer-oriented and relatively harmonious population in which legitimation of the state is accomplished by fostering the perception of a democratised society. How has state power been maintained?

Power, or the control of access to political and economic decision-making processes, has been formalised in a legal system in order to protect individual rights and private property. Access to decision-making processes is denied or limited, according to C. Wright Mills, by the rational use of coercion, authority and manipulation (1980; 41). In a similar manner, researchers in ethnic studies postulate that dominance is maintained through conflict, conformity and consensus. In terms of the Canadian State, power (or domination) has been achieved by the legitimate use of force, accommodation to the working-class and minority groups through social reforms and ideological socialisation.

Legitimate force, although traditionally used by the social control agencies of the state in order to 'keep the peace' (including the suppression of workers'

---

[5](cont'd)Catholics and peasants who fled from English domination and potato famines; there were, however, Protestants from colonial Northern Ireland who became members of the Canadian elite. Anglo-Saxon is something of a misnomer when one considers the many cultures which have invaded or settled in Britain (Angles, Britons, Celts, Danes, Gauls, Jutes, Normans, Picts, Romans, Saxons, Vikings).

[6] Cyclical migration is often referred to as 'waves of migration'.

movements), has been less visible in recent times, which is an indication of the effectiveness of social reform and ideological socialisation.[7]

Social reform of the Canadian State appears impressive. The trilateral system of government, in which negotiations are supposedly conducted amongst private business, a government elected by the people, and the trade unions, seems laudable. However, in all probability, the major initiatives are carried through by unreported negotiations between the multinational corporations and the state bureaucracy.[8] The welfare state was created to overcome some of the 'unavoidable' problems of unemployment (especially during times of economic crisis) and poverty among those people who were unable to 'help themselves prosper'. Taxation, social insurance, medical care and the broadening of educational opportunities are further manifestations of the welfare state. The parliamentary system has been liberalised, to an extent, by the inclusion of the New Democratic Party, a party of social reform. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms is a relatively egalitarian document but it is flawed by historical myopia and idealism. Moreover, equality rights for women and aboriginal rights were very nearly dealt out of the agreement between the Federal and Provincial Governments. More importantly for this thesis, the perceived democratisation of ethnocultural processes, or multiculturalism, and the perceived democratisation of sport are confidently proclaimed to be indicative of a classless society.[9]

Many of these reforms have raised the standard of living for many Canadians, prolonged their life span, granted increased hours apart from productive labour, offered technical expertise and enhanced an individual's capacity to analyse his/her social environment. Interestingly, these factors have also contributed to the present crisis of capitalism. Nevertheless, despite these material and social improvements, poverty has not been eradicated in the Canadian State (much less in the Third World dependencies of capitalism).[10]

---

[7] The use of legitimate force, in terms of Federal and Provincial Government legislation, has been more evident during the present economic crisis.

[8] Included as multinationals are the business conglomerates, the world banking monopoly and the western military infrastructure (Schiller, 1976).

[9] Obviously, not everybody would agree that Canada is a classless society. Indeed many conservatives support stratification as natural and just. However, a vaguely defined perception of democracy is accepted and perpetuated.

[10] The Third World dependency model has also been applied to

More importantly, social reformism does not equate democracy. Democracy can not be achieved while privilege (status, financial and legal) is perpetuated. If the actuality (practice) of social reform was congruent with the rhetoric (theory), then the demise of capitalism would be inevitable.

The discrepancy between rhetoric and actuality is presumably accounted for by ideological socialisation, the church and the school system traditionally being the bearers of the appropriate message. In a technological society the onus of image creation has become the auspices of the communications industries or the mass media. Historically, the media have used sport in order to advertise commodities for the purpose of collecting revenue.

F. Ideological Socialisation and the Communications Industries

Patricia Marchak explains that social reality "does exist independent[ly] of our perception of it" (1981: 1). Our perception, or the subjective understanding of social reality, is revealed to us:

> ...through a screen of assumptions, beliefs, explanations, values and unexamined knowledge. Together, these elements of the screen comprise an ideology, and the ideology directs our attention to some realities but not to others; interprets what our senses transmit to our brain; evaluates information not on its own merits but in terms of what is already accepted as truth. An ideology grows with us from childhood. Some parts of it are deliberately transmitted by parents, schools, the media, and other institutions of our society. Other parts are more casually conveyed through example; the unspoken assumptions and attitudes of those around us (ibid).

While the degree to which deliberate or conscious transmission of an ideology is debatable, I would agree that consciousness and behaviour are determined and nurtured, to a great extent, by the dynamic processes of socialisation. The formation of personality is decisively influenced by society in general and, in particular, by a person's immediate social environment. The socialising role of a family within an ethnic community and the schools which its members attend, identification with a sport form and the pervasiveness of the mass media of

---

[10](cont'd)Canadian-American relations. The Prime Minister has admitted that Canadian capital is not autonomous but subject to the movement of American capital. Moreover, it has been hypothesised that the cultural relations between the two states are subject to similar considerations. Sport, as a cultural form, may be analysed in this manner.

communications, are all related to the process of formation of consciousness.

The message of capitalism, meritocratic liberalism, is increasingly being transmitted by the communications industries in technological societies. Positive reinforcement of this pluralist ideology is the norm. However, criticism of the superstructure is accepted as an indication of a free and democratic society, even to the extent of occasional revelations of institutional corruption and the periodic crises of over-production. An interruption in continuity is approved of as a beneficial purging of the system rather than a contradiction of capitalist organisation.

The communications industries perpetuate the dominant ideology specifically because the broadcasting and printing media are highly commercialised and because their collective "screen" interprets social reality and publically transmits **their** perception in a manner which ultimately advances the interests of capitalism, with the approval of the majority of the people.[11] Moreover, as Clements indicates, the relationship between the corporate elite and the media elite may amount to far more than convergence of belief and action through affinitive socialisation.

> ...The overlap [of the media elite] with the economic elite is extensive, almost one half of the members are the same people. Moreover, those not overlapped resemble very closely the economic elite. The conclusion must be that together the economic and media elite are simply two sides of the same upper class (1975: 325).

State intervention was evidenced in 1973 when the Canadian Government released a position paper which addressed several basic questions relating to a national communications policy and the concern about external domination. Among the issues discussed were the dissemination of Canadian values, the development of east-west links for economic and social advancement to counter southern links and the problem of effective Canadian ownership and Canadian control (Schiller, 1976: 72).

Herbert Schiller and Dallas Smythe discuss the role of the "public media" or the "consciousness shaping industries" in terms of their reliance on persuasion and image creation in order that dominance be perpetuated in the social and cultural spheres of life as well as the political and economic spheres. Smythe quotes a prophetic statement (made in 1949) by Lazarsfeld and Merton regarding the net effect of the media to "dysfunctionally narcotise" the population.

---

[11] While the majority of North Americans support capitalism, a minority do not. Many people appear to be apathetic, a condition which may be related to a feeling of lack of personal power to effect change.

> For those media not only continue to affirm the status quo, but in the same measure they fail to raise essential questions about the structure of society (1981: 18).

Schiller concludes that the public media convey the interests of the national economic elite and therefore, by implication, international capitalism.

> A few hundred of these giant agglomerations of capital, largely American owned, dominate the global market in production and distribution of goods and services. Most significantly from our standpoint, this dominance extends to the production and dissemination of communications--cultural outputs as well (ibid: 7).

The interests of international capitalism include the pacification of working people, the organisation of consumerism, the catering to middle-class striving for status and, most importantly, the maintenance of the system through legitimation (ibid: 59).

These conclusions have implications for the role of commercial and recreational sport forms in the reproduction of the state. North American sport is undeniably a tremendously influential medium as a cultural attraction for millions of people, regardless of whether they are active or passive participants. Active and passive consumption of sport and its related enterprises (tourism, brand-named clothing, souvenirs, concessions, gambling, etc.) is a highly lucrative business for the owners of these industries. However, indirect consumption is an even more lucrative business for the owners of the multinational corporations who purchase a commodity (a sport-viewing audience or a sport-readership of a printed circulation) in return for exposure of their products and, ultimately, for profit. This is achieved by the deliberate shaping of our consciousness into believing that we need the advertised product which is repeatedly and forcefully presented through the media, the sport coverage being only a vehicle for the advertising message.[12]

---

[12] The power of the media to shape our thinking with regard to the pervasiveness of a sport form (soccer) and the reproduction of cultural

While statements like "dysfunctionally narcotise" and "pacification of working people" may seem to be overly deterministic and whilst the degree to which an ideology is deliberately or consciously transmitted is debatable, this explanation of ideological socialisation, whereby the majority actively come to believe in and support a social system, appears to be valid. Marchak points out that individuals do not have the time nor the training to analyse the statements which emanate from the various agencies of socialisation and relate them to available evidence and consider alternatives.[13] While stating that there is a limit to what people will accept as true (if rhetoric is too far removed from reality), she adds that "it is quite possible for a population to believe things which are manifestly untrue, and to believe things which are demonstrably contrary to their own interests" (ibid: 7).

As the discrepancy between rhetoric and actuality becomes more obvious to more people, ideological socialisation must be used more aggressively in order to dissipate dissatisfaction, or else the state might be forced to resort to coercive measures. However, the impelling aggregation of societal contradictions will ultimately create the conditions for increased demands, from those people most adversely affected, for qualitative changes in the political and economic system.

G. Conclusion

The remaining chapters of this thesis constitute a critical, contextual and evaluative analysis and explanation of the way in which a capitalist mode of production has been maintained in the Canadian State, how the social relationships have been reproduced and modified through time, and what the role of association football or soccer has been in this reproduction.

Moreover, two manifestations of the rhetoric (theory) and actuality or implementation (practice) of social reform are considered in historical detail and

---

[12](cont'd)stereotypes is the subject of subsequent sections.

[13] This could be particularly true for individuals who are distracted by strongly identifying with a sport form and/or with multiculturalism.

from the perspective of the Italian people and their descendants who interact in, and compete for, an Ital.-Canadian soccer team.

1. Attempts to dissipate the coercive and uni-dimensional aspects of Anglo-conformity have created the perception of ethnocultural democratisation (the ideology and policy of multiculturalism).
2. Increased time spent away from productive labour, a general increase in disposable income and governmental involvement in the production of sport forms have created the perception of democratisation in sport (Sport for All or Participaction).

Finally, by uniting theory with method and situating the subject dialectic within the object dialectic, I may be able to proffer an explanation of social change which is neither obdurate determinism nor utopian idealism. It is important to note that such an explanation should not necessarily invoke an image of conspiracy.

It is probable that the majority of state officials, sport administrators and ethnic community members diligently labour in order to provide programmes which offer the possibility of attaining some level of physical fitness, and/or participating in recreational activities and/or organising symbolically meaningful events. These people need not be conscious of the actual implications of much of their work nor of the role it may play in maintaining the social relationships of capitalism within the Canadian State.

III. METHODS, PROCEDURES AND CONSIDERATIONS

A. Introduction

In his monograph, "Research Methods in Sport Sociology", David Whitson considers there to be two fundamental and antagonistic paradigms in social science which are manifest in positivism and critical sociology, phenomenological sociology being subsumed in the latter category (1978: 11–18). Phenomenology's status as a critical theory is questionable due to its ahistorical approach and limited consideration of the totality of social relationships. Traditionally confined to micro-level theorising, the sociological application of phenomenology has mainly been utilised as a methodological critique of positivism. Moreover, by supporting dualism in the perception of social reality, the approach is in danger of reconstructing the order versus conflict debate. Richard Gruneau also brings our attention to the assumptions which underlie these vocabularies but is careful to point out that he does not "imply that there are two competing *but equally legitimate* ideologically based realities rather than one empirically validated one" (1976b: 36). Andrzej Wohl (1975) presents a detailed critique of positivistic empiricism and in the process he explains how to make use of diverse research techniques in sport sociology and relate them more closely to theory.

However, it is apparent that ideology has been reified at the expense of formal theorising in sport sociology. Reacting to what Mills referred to as "abstracted empiricism" and what Alan Ingham called "Gradgrind mentality", many sport sociologists have adopted a qualitative approach on the one hand and a radical approach on the other, which, when taken to extremes, stand in contradiction to each other. Liberal subjectivism and "scientific nihilism" have created a "cliche-ridden phenomenology" while "ideologism" or political radicalism has produced an orthodoxy which has been termed "commitment without content" (Gruneau, 1976b and 1978a; Ingham, 1979). On the one hand, methodologies have been subject to technical refinement without recourse to theory, and on the other hand the adoption of obdurately deterministic theories has made methodologies redundant.

It behoves us, then, to transcend the moralist stance by objectively studying the history of social development and by reuniting method with theory. Following Mills' example, Gruneau and Ingham advocate a return to classical sociological analyses which are at once critical, contextual and evaluative. Ingham is a proponent of the Weberian model:

> Applied to the study of sport, it [Weber's approach] demands that researchers never lose sight of the fact that sport is but a part of an historical, meaningful, human creation--namely, sociocultural reality. It demands that researchers recognize that sport cannot be isolated analytically from the public issues and insistent human troubles which find expression within this sociocultural reality. Weber's approach thus entails an interpenetration of the sociocultural disciplines, so that the contextual, critical, and evaluative analysis of sport can proceed unhampered by the "turf protectionism" which is so typical of the "specialist" or by that quest for legitimacy which characterizes those uncritical emulators of the parent disciplines (1979: 211).

Gruneau encourages sport sociologists:

> ...through disciplined inquiry, to test available evidence against our assumptions and reform our beliefs as best we can. The stimulation of this process as it relates to the unification of theory and action (praxis) is simply the promise of the sociological imagination (1978a: 89).

In conclusion, therefore, we must base methodological considerations and micro-level theorising in the broader context of historical social facts.

> This means that the beginning of each research process actually starts with the theoretical work, forcing us to go beyond the studied phenomena and to make use of certain generalizations, that have their roots in macrosocial relations (Wohl, 1975: 10).

Lenin explained that it is not the existence of sociological facts that we should consider to be problematic but the means that are used to establish the facts. He believed that by taking historical phenomena in their entirety, the objective interconnection and interdependence of social production and reproduction can be presented:

> And if it is to be a real foundation, we must take not individual facts, but the sum total of facts, without a single exception, relating to the question under discussion (Marx, Engels and Lenin, 1974: 513).

The questions under discussion in this thesis, as outlined in Chapter I, are: Why did Italians emigrate? What were their experiences in North America? How has their culture been modified and reproduced over time? What are the historical interconnections and interdependencies between the culture and the development of association football in relation to a dominant capitalist system and a dominant Anglo-American culture? Is the practice of multiculturalism congruent with the theory of multiculturalism? Is there a potential role for soccer in the transformation of society?

Through a detailed historical study of social action I hope to arrive at an explanation of social reality, thereby establishing the social facts. Mass culture should, therefore, be studied in its totality:

> A real theoretical formulation of the question of mass culture would be, above all, an examination of the social reality of the concrete mechanism which, at the present stage of the development of capitalism, implements the connection between the socioeconomic determinateness of the superstructure as a whole and the individual fields of cultural interactions, and even individual cultural phenomena (Glazychev, 1971: 74).

The concept of totality was a fundamental concern of C. Wright Mills. In his campaign for the restoration of the classical tradition in sociology, he stated that we should study the interrelationships between individual milieu and social structure and between biography and history:[14]

> Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both. ...Yet men do not usually define the troubles they endure in terms of historical change and institutional contradiction (1980: 3).

Totality also implies that the traditional dichotomies of sociological analysis (social facts/social action, theory/method, macro/micro, object/subject, individual/society and mind/body) will be considered in dialectical terms as two aspects of a single reality. By incorporating the subject dialectic (qualitative, humanistic or interpretive sociology) within the object dialectic (structural and historical sociology) I may be able to account for, and explain, cultural reproduction and social change. In this thesis, participant observation and interviewing constitute the subject dialectic and consideration of historical materials and content analysis constitute the object dialectic. As Wohl explains:

> The historical method bases itself on the very obvious theoretical principle, that all sociological phenomena are situated not only in space but in time as well (1975: 19). ...From the methodological point of view it therefore is imperative that research, in the interpretation of obtained data, should connect the studied phenomena not only with

---

[14] C. Wright Mills (1969) explained that the sociological enterprise necessitates a closer working relationship between 'macroscopic' and 'molecular' styles of research.

> a certain definite historical stage, but also with a given historical trend and bring to the fore its ties with subjective, intellectual and conscious elements as well as with objective, structural, institutional, functional, class, strata and group elements. Without such reference the obtained research results will be not only one-sided and simplified but deprived of real content (ibid: 22).

B. The Utility and Limitations of Phenomenological Sociology

Edmund Husserl, a German psychologist and philosopher who was influenced by Franz Brentano, articulated his desire to achieve a transcendental phenomenology which would incorporate an understanding of human experience in the world through the method of scientific abstraction. He rejected the 'psychologism' (forerunner to behaviourism) of the late 19th century in which experimental and quantitative techniques were used in order to determine the relationship between objective stimuli and subjective responses, and in which consciousness and meaning were ignored. Husserl emphasised the importance of seeking a *pure stream of consciousness* by means of what he referred to as phenomenological reduction or *bracketing*; the suspension of our belief in the world. We should also strive to transcend the *natural attitude* of conventional sociology in which naive assumptions about the social and natural worlds are taken-for-granted (Philipson, 1973: 124-127; Zeitlin, 1973: 139).

Alfred Schutz, a student of Husserl, adapted this philosophical phenomenology and attempted to incorporate it into the more established modes of sociological inquiry by theorising that phenomenology does not transcend the *life world*, but in fact that it begins with the conscious experience of others and is therefore intersubjective (Gilroy, 1981: 5). The social world, therefore, is constituted through intrasubjective and intersubjective communication and action. Schutz explained that the facts of natural scientific inquiry do not take into account the concept of intentionality:

> But the facts, events, and data before the social scientist are of an entirely different structure. His observational field, the social world, is not essentially structureless. It has a particular meaning and relevance structure for the human being living, thinking and acting therein. They have preselected and preinterpreted this world by a series of

> common-sense constructs of the reality of daily life, and it is these thought objects which determine their behaviour, define the goals of their actions, the means available for attaining them--in brief, which help them to find their bearings within their natural and socio-cultural environment and to come to terms with it (1963: 305).

These common-sense constructs, or first order concepts, are based on the individual's perceptions of everyday life and are necessarily inexact and unquantifiable. The second order concepts of the social scientist are based upon the observed behaviour of the social actors which is affected by the cognitive processes of the first order concepts. Therefore, manipulation, control and prediction procedures employed by traditional social scientists should be considered to be problematic. We should attempt to interpret the common-sense constructs of individuals in order to attain a deeper understanding and explanation of social action. We cannot expect to quantify our descriptions of social phenomena if their essence is qualitative, specifically because we may distort or falsify social reality rather than understand social phenomena. Schutz saw as the major problem of the social sciences, the development of a method to deal in an objective way with the subjective meaning of human action. Although he did offer methodological guidelines in the form of his three postulates of logical consistency, subjective interpretation and adequacy (ibid: 343), Schutz did not advocate specific research methods. However, it would seem apparent that historical analyses and participant observation techniques would be appropriate for such a task.

Berger and Luckmann (students of Husserl and Schutz) developed this form of knowledge and supplemented it with insights from the classical tradition of European sociology. Central to their epistemology is the dialectical relationship between objective and subjective reality (Gilroy, 1981: 9). That is, we should be concerned with the dialectic of the active, perceiving subject and his/her experience of the objectiveness of social reality. Sociologists must recognise, therefore, the need for making interpretive procedures a topic of sociological inquiry in order to achieve a greater understanding not only of methodology but also of the objective character of everyday life (Smart, 1976: 93).

> The aim of sociological phenomenology is, therefore, to suggest an alternative way of doing sociology to that of positivism and,

> moreover, an alternative which locates its foundations in the character of the social world (Walsh, 1972: 35).

A renewed interest in phenomenological sociology may be viewed as a reaction to a contemporary sociology which treats social phenomena and social reality as comparable to natural phenomena. The qualitative difference between social and natural phenomena is based on the concept of intentionality and, as such, social reality must be considered to be a continuous process of construction which is produced by individuals in the course of interaction. Its philosophical roots may be traced to Kant who emphasised the cognitive role of the individual in the creation of knowledge.

In 1945, Harold Garfinkel was conducting research in Chicago with Paul Mendlovtz into how people perceived their roles in doing the work of jurors. The term *ethnomethodology* grew out of this study and its parameters were defined by Garfinkel in the following manner:

> It is an organizational study of a member's knowledge of his ordinary affairs, of his own organized enterprises, where that knowledge is treated by us as part of the same setting that it also makes orderable (Turner, 1974: 18).

He believed that by treating:

> ...practical activities, practical circumstances, and practical sociological reasoning as topics of empirical study, and by paying the most common place activities of daily life the attention usually accorded extraordinary events we can seek to learn about phenomena in their own right (Garfinkel, 1967: 1).

Ethnomethodology, or *neopraxiology*[15] as Garfinkel decided to rename it, is compatible with phenomenology in that both perspectives seek to construct a sociology of everyday life by questioning the meaning of our mundane existence which we tend to take for granted.

Cicourel, also an ethnomethodologist, stated that cultural meaning, communication and language interpretation are the central focus of what Weber described as "meaningful behaviour" or "social action". He believed, as did Goffman[16], that operational procedures for measuring meaning must take into account that the actor's awareness and experience of any 'object' are determined not only by the physical object as it is presented but also by the imputation he assigns to it. He was highly critical of quantitative researchers whom he saw as the servants of bureaucracy enslaved by their own methodologies and measurement procedures.

---

[15] Presumably taken from the Marxian concept 'praxis'.

[16] Erving Goffman's distinctive approach to sociological analysis, by viewing individuals as actors in a drama, blends the symbolic interactionist perspective with phenomenology.

> Quantitatively expressed results necessarily reify the events under study, but our interpretations of them, even after the usual formal apologies and cautions about generality and precision, are treated as positive findings which are ficticiously assumed to be replicable and valid. All this tends to make social research something of a closed enterprise rather than an open search for knowledge relative to a given era (Cicourel, 1964: 224).

His desire was to achieve a clear understanding of the relationship between theory, method and data. He wanted to move away from rigorous measuring techniques and seek clarification of theories and concepts. However, his main concern was to disentangle the sociological language of researchers and attempt to understand the common sense language and meaning of the-man-in-the-street. Cicourel was not critical of quantitative methodology 'per se' but he was extremely critical, as was C. Wright Mills, of the direction he discerned it to be taking.

Garfinkel and Cicourel have centred their interests around the fact that our lives are guided by unspoken and unwritten laws but we are unable to recognise their form or the ways in which they shape our thinking and our actions. What they are asking of researchers is that they systematically analyse everyday conversations in their collecting of data and interpret the individual's attempt to construct his/her social world based on common-sense knowledge. I hope to go further than a mere description of the subject in his institutional setting to an understanding and explanation of the social world of an individual and how he constructs his own reality.

Qualitative sociology is generally used as both a theory and a method of scientific inquiry. It is possible to discern the theoretical influence of Max Weber on qualitative sociology as he understood that words and actions were not to be taken at face value and that the truth could only be established by direct and first-hand experience. He encouraged research into voluntary associations such as athletic leagues, religious groups and political parties as well as arguing that the attribution of cultural diversities to natural, inherited tendencies was a form of vulgar racism. Weber saw the understandable motivations of the individual as the ultimate unit of analysis:

> Interpretive sociology considers the individual and his action as the basic unit, as its 'atom'--if the disputable comparison for once may be permitted. In this approach, the individual is also the upper limit and the sole carrier of meaningful conduct. ...In general, for sociology, such concepts as 'state', 'association', 'feudalism', and the like, designate certain categories of human interaction. Hence it is the task of sociology to reduce these concepts to 'understandable' action, that is, without exception, to the actions of participating individual men (Gerth and Mills, 1979: 55).

Weber's methodological concept, *VERSTEHEN*, implied that social scientists should be involved in sympathetic introspection with their subjects in order that an understanding of the context and the meanings of action might be achieved and interpreted (Ritzer, 1975: 113). His voluntarist standpoint, then, is in many ways similar to phenomenological sociology. However, the approaches do differ in that Weber did consider historical processes while phenomenology is theoretically ahistorical.

Phenomenological sociology is compatible with Marxian analyses in that both are critical of contemporary sociology and both are directed towards a reconstitution of the practice of sociology by de-reifying the social world and grounding it in the comprehension of human action (Smart, 1976: xii). Smart explained, as had Lenin, that the dialectical method renders problematic the self-evident facts and provides the possibility of recognising the historical nature of social facts (ibid: 117). Social reality is, therefore, dialectical, intersubjective, and historically constructed. Phenomenological sociology, then, has neglected consideration of the role of power, stratification and social structure in the production of knowledge and social relations based on material development. It has also been confined mainly to micro-level theorising and subjective understanding of the dialectical nature of social reality (ibid: xii). Its explanations of objective reality have been obscure because it has not come to terms with the totality and contradictions of social relationships in their historical contexts.

In conclusion, phenomenological sociology (including etnomethodology), while providing a useful method for analysing the *lived experiences of* *everyday life*, is mainly concerned with understanding the processes of socialisation and consciousness formation through individual perception.

C. Historical Materials and Content Analysis.

> These methods usually refer to materials produced in the past and which are in many ways unique records and expressions of behaviour that the sociologist seeks to reconstruct and/or analyze by means of some set of interpretive categories. The set of interpretive categories would presumably be based on a theory purporting to explain and reconstruct the material. In placing the use of both historical materials and content analysis in the same chapter, I wish to stress the fact that the materials subject to content analysis must be ordered by such sociological theory even in cases where the researcher is presumably reconstructing someone else's theory of society (Cicourel, 1964: 142).

Cicourel advises social historians to employ theories which are precise enough to enable advance planning whereby logical arguments and carefully chosen documents are combined in order that we may be able to meaningfully explain the past. He indicated the main problem to be that of understanding the built-in biases which were not often accounted for and which have distorted the cultural meaning and social setting of symbolic expression (ibid: 142-44). It is important, therefore, to consider historical and cultural relativism when analysing primary and secondary data sources. That is, individuals, groups, societies and nation states have influenced and been influenced by historical epochs. Also, the dynamic processes involved in social development effected changes in the material base of human existence as well as in individual perception.

Cicourel concluded that the structure of common-sense knowledge and the importance of unstated meaning structures for understanding such documents as diaries, newspapers, interviews, official records and novels have been insufficiently recognised in sociological analyses (ibid: 153). Clearly, there has been an increased awareness of these problems in recent years, however, many 'chronological historians' continue to analyse primary and secondary data sources in a non-problematic manner.

C. Wright Mills stated that, "Social science deals with problems of biography, of history, and of their intersections within social structures", and that:

> The problems of our time--which now include the problems of man's very nature--cannot be stated adequately without consistent practice of the view that history is the shank of social study, and recognition of the need to develop further a psychology of man that is sociologically grounded and historically relevant (1980: 143).

The historian's enterprise is a theoretical discipline, whether he/she is aware of it or not, and as such, his/her task is to transcend the static debate about the presentation of 'the facts' and to desist from perpetuating the myth of boundary maintenance. As Mills points out, "All sociology worthy of the name is 'historical sociology' " (ibid: 147).

Ahistorical sociology is usually limited to descriptive studies and statistical distributions; it also fails to explain the dynamic processes involved in the construction of the totality of human relationships and the powerful forces which have been brought to bear by specific interest groups. The human being is an historical and a social actor and if we are to understand his/her actions then we must consider the interrelationships between social and historical structure and individual and group experience. As Marx explained:

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past (1968: 15).

The social historian invariably indulges in social criticism, according to Colin Fletcher, and the work "is usually a contemporary statement of historic truth" (1974: 174). He explained his position in the following manner:

> So from history come tradition and event, and from sociology come structure and process, but obviously they are more than conveniently related for the practice of social criticism (ibid: 180).

Following in Mills' footsteps, Fletcher concluded that history is an integral part of the stating of a sociological problem and, moreover, an historical analysis is vital to its solution (ibid: 178).

For the purposes of this thesis both primary and secondary data sources have been consulted and analysed for their historical content in a qualitative manner. Primary sources for data analysis include statements from politicians, immigration officers, social reformers and church organisations, extracts from the House of Commons Debates, government reports on multiculturalism and contemporary journals and newspapers as they relate to multiculturalism and soccer in Canada. Secondary data sources consist of historical and sociological books which relate to and discuss Italy and Italian culture, Canadian immigration policies and the settlement and employment of immigrants, football/soccer in England and in Canada and the development and contradictions of capitalism.

D. Participant Observation and Interviewing

Field research, ethnography, depth interviewing, informal interviewing, participation and observation are all terms which have been adopted, expanded upon and subsumed under the umbrella title of qualitative methodologies. The common thread which links them is that the researcher must become personally involved, to some degree, in the collection of the data and he/she must also make logical interpretations and explanations of that data once collected. In addition, an attempt at a dialectical analysis should be proffered. An understanding of the subjective criteria or self-ascription of group membership should be considered in relation to the objective criteria of group membership; that is, ascription by other members of the society who may interact in some way with that group but who are clearly not members of that group. Mirkovic believes that the participant observation method is a dialectical process. He cites Pitirim Sorokin who criticised the metaphysical separation of subject of cognition (knower, the researcher) from the object of cognition (phenomenon studied) and who asserted that it is possible for the knower and known to merge into one unity and that some degree of merging is necessary for an accurate cognition of an object (Mirkovic, 1980: 126).

The participant observer must, therefore, participate subjectively in the experiences and actions of those people he/she is observing objectively. Severyn Bruyn explained that his work went beyond the mere studying of behaviour:

> In my observation of social processes I realized that what I was studying was not human behavior as much as the inner collective life of people who were deeply involved personally in changing their community and being changed by it (1966: ix).

In a similar manner, Paul Willis remarked that participant observation techniques "have a sensitivity to meanings and values as well as an ability to represent and interpret symbolic articulations, practices and forms of cultural reproduction" (1978: 3). This central role of participant observation methodology to social and cultural studies has been defined in the following manner by Schwartz and Schwartz:

> For our purposes we define participant observation as a process in which the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation. The observer is in a face-to-face relationship with the observed, and, by participating with them in their natural life setting, he gathers data. Thus, the observer is part of the context being observed, and he both modifies and is influenced by this context (Cicourel, 1964: 41).

McCall and Simmons believe participant observation to be a blend of methods consisting of:

> ...genuinely social interaction in the field with the research subjects, some direct observation of relevant events, some formal and a great deal of informal interviewing, some systematic counting, some collection of documents and artifacts, and open-endedness in the direction the study takes (1969: 1).

Whilst researchers must be empathetic, care must be taken not to become so involved with the people that one becomes too influenced by, and too influential upon, the social situations of the study. In his book, Street Corner Society, William Foote Whyte explained the necessity of trying to "fit in" during these types of studies:

> While I avoided expressing opinions on sensitive topics, I found that arguing on some matters was simply part of the social pattern and that one could hardly participate without joining in the argument (1973: 302).

Acceptance into the group and the relationships one has with its members are crucial factors in obtaining quality information. Whyte realised that acceptance relied heavily on the 'key informant' and that he could make the researcher aware of interesting facts which he might otherwise have no access to:

> I learned early in my Cornerville period the crucial importance of having the support of the key individuals in any group or organization I was studying (ibid: 300).

In reality, the participant observer probably moves between what Schwartz and Schwartz termed "passive" and "active" participation (Cicourel, 1964: 43) and may at any time be a complete participant, a participant-as-observer, an observer-as-participant or a complete observer.[17]

Further problems inherent in this methodology are the how, where and when of information recording. It is most important that information be recorded in detail as soon as possible after the event. Sometimes it may be possible to take notes 'in situ'. However, the presence of pad and pencil may be threatening and consequently the quality and spontaneity of interaction could be limited. As Whyte had done, I decided to gain as much from each encounter as possible and write up my findings in a 'natural history' form as soon as I had left the field, realising that "The ideas (research) grow up in part out of our immersion in the data and out of the whole process of living" (Whyte, 1973: 280). Therefore, one modifies and refines a theory during the course of the study through reflective contemplation rather than entering the field in order to test a formal 'a priori' theory.

Interviewing, in the initial stages, consists of little more than the ability to make non-antagonistic conversation and provide linking sentences which may offer some insight into group relations and personal dynamics. Careful and discrete observation can reveal unexpected sources of material for later questions.

> As I sat and listened, I learned the answers to questions that I would not even have the sense to ask if I had been getting information solely on the interviewing basis (Whyte, 1973: 303).

On the basis of information gathered in the initial stages, the researcher can formulate more direct questions and then, towards the end of the study, he/she can devise depth interviews or questionnaires which seek to clarify the key concepts under discussion and aid in the construction of the theoretical framework. Wohl points out that

> ...it is possible with the help of questionnaires to catch certain world outlooks, cultural attitudes, the values accepted by people as well as norms of coexistence, styles of living, aspirations, needs, moods etc. However, the data alone...do not yet testify to the real aspects of social life (1975: 14).

---

[17] Cicourel (1964: 43-4) quotes Gold's definitions of Junker's four theoretical roles.

E. Conclusion

Finally, we can begin to understand and explain the relationships between individual sporting performances and a player's position in the structure of the team, and also to understand individuals in the team in terms of their relationships with the Italian community and ultimately in terms of their relationships to the social structure. We must, therefore, develop:

> ...a more general theory of cultural forms and their role in social reproduction, or more exactly for their role in maintaining the conditions for continued material production in the capitalist mode (Willis, 1978: 171).

We must be wary of crude and overly deterministic notions of cultural forms and:

> In order to have a satisfying explanation we need to see what the symbolic power of structural determinism is within the mediating realm of the human *and* cultural (ibid).

Moreover, "The role of participant observer requires both detachment and personal involvement" (Bruyn, 1966: 14) and it "reflects the social process of living in society" (ibid: 20).

The parameters of this participant observation study range from the central focus on the Ital.-Canadian soccer team itself, to the Italian community which fosters it and to members of the larger Edmonton community who are in some way involved in the production and reproduction of a soccer culture. The author attended training sessions and competitive games and conducted informal discussions with players, administrators and community members between February 1981 and August 1982.[11]

---

[11] A personal and more detailed account of the experience of this study is included in the appendix.

IV. A HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION AND THE CANADIAN EXPERIENCE OF ITALIANS

A. Introduction

Historically, successive Canadian governments have attempted to mediate between the conflicting philosophies of the more traditional and conservative interest groups and the more laissez-faire and liberal interest groups of the developing society. Socialist tendencies and working-class movements were systematically and effectively repressed through coercive and manipulative practices by the various levels of government and their social control agencies.

The White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant (W.A.S.P.) elite (landowners, mercantilists, bankers and the Protestant Church) as representatives of conservative ideology, were most concerned with the maintenance of the status quo, that is, the continuation of pre confederation Anglo-domination through a feudal class structure.[19] Their desire was that only those people who could most readily be assimilated into this idealistic model should be welcomed. Cultural and ideological acceptability could only be enforced by controlling and limiting immigration. Settlement planning was considered to be an imperative.

The rising bourgeoisie or the entrepeneurial class, representative of liberal ideology, was determined to pursue a course of agricultural growth and industrialisation through a capitalist controlled economy. Massive influxes of wage and transient labour were encouraged from Europe and America. Specific 'races' were recruited for their perceived ability to function in specific occupations and in adverse conditions. Seasonal and migratory work provided pools of surplus labour. Cultural differences were maintained in order to weaken class consciousness and stimulate inter-group conflict. These measures ensured that wages could be restricted to poverty levels; different groups could be coerced into accepting reduced wages and specific ethnic groups could be manipulated as strike breakers. Liberal interests favoured an 'open-door' policy for migrant workers with the understanding that employment needs would be determined by the prevailing economic conditions as they related to profit maximisation.[20]

---

[19] See, Fredrick H. Armstrong (1981), for a concise historical account of the origins of the colonial-mercantile elite, based on aristocratic and Imperial patronage, land accumulation and commercial monopolisation.

Since Confederation in 1867, official policy has vacillated between these two philosophies. However, they have shared a common bias. A perusal of speeches, books and newspapers of the time reveal a sometimes overt but often covert, racist ideology as a manifestation of biological determinism.[21] Paternalism is evident in the objectification of cultural groups and, in the case of indigenous peoples, it was periodically manifest in physical and cultural genocide.[22] Reformist movements, although more humanistic in their approach, merely succeeded in creating a welfare state within a capitalist economy. Reformist and integrationist policies would appear to be variations of assimilationist policies, that is, different forms of socialisation into the same capitalist, Anglo-dominated social system.

Colin Veitch's (1982) review of some of the events which precipitated the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 clearly indicate the relationship between economic growth based on saturation, immigrant wage-labour and the vitriolic response from the W.A.S.P. communtity who concerned themselves with what they considered to be a deterioration in moral standards. A rascist ideology was manifest in practice by the Manitoba Free Press, the Winnipeg School Board, the implimentation of the War Measures Act, the Great War Veterans

---

[20] These measures also ensured that women remained at home to reproduce the next generation of male workers and female 'homemakers' and reserve workers for continued production in the capitalist mode.

[21] Racialist policies are historic features of provincial and federal legislation. For example, the "Head Taxation" policies (1886-1903) and the Chinese Immigration Act (1923) which restricted and eventually halted Chinese immigration when their cheap labour was no longer required after 1885; the "Gentleman's Agreement" between Canada and Japan in 1907, the Japanese-Canadian internment during World War II and the government's 'repatriation' scheme after the war. East Indians were refused entry in 1910 and 'race' riots were not uncommon. It was easier for Nazi sympathisers and war criminals to gain entry as immigrants after World War II than it was for Jewish refugees. Traditionally, visible minorities have been subject to restrictive laws regarding immigration, citizenship, the right to vote and deportation in depressed times.

[22] The interface between cultural traditions and technological advancement was well demonstrated by Thomas Berger when he was the commissioner of the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry between 1974 and 1977 and in his statements regarding aboriginal and treaty rights. For a concise history of racism and its applicabilty to Canadian society, see David R. Hughes and Evelyn Kallen (1975).

Association, Anglo-Canadian businessmen, the "Citizens' League" and "the forces of law and order". The underlying desire, however, was to ensure the dominance of the Anglo-Canadian elite and the subordination and disunity of the predominantly immigrant working-class.

It would be a mistake to omit mention of American influence on immigration policy and American interest in the Canadian economy, as both countries based their growth on immigrant wage labour and financial investment in a capitalist system. In his paper, "Canadian Society and History as Hinterland versus Metropolis", Arthur Davis discussed the historical development of Canadian national policy with reference to exploitation by eastern capitalists and the reaction from the western and Quebec hinterlands. He indicated the threat of American political absorption of the western region during the 19th century and the later industrial expansionism of that country:

> In our view, it is impossible to conceptualize a holistic view of Canadian society apart from American society (1971: 12).[23]

Generally, the migrants and immigrants did not differentiate between the two countries, using 'The Americas' or 'The New World' as generic terms. The vast majority of the millions of people who left Italy were unskilled, male and migrant.[24] They travelled to the New World, whether it was to America, Argentina, Brazil, or (to a lesser extent) Canada, where they were subject to exploitive labour practices and many returned home with what little money they had managed to accumulate. Some workers did remain in Canada and, in due course, began to bring their families to join them. In his authoritative book, The Italian Emigration of our Times, Robert Foerster concluded that "Emigration from Italy belongs among the extraordinary movements of mankind" (1968: 3).[25]

The transformation of Canadian and Italian social relationships from feudalism to capitalism and the Italian migrants experience in Canada prior to

---

[23] "Every time the United States has changed its immigration policy in this century (20th) Canada has followed" (Spada, 1969: 121).

[24] Statistics were not well recorded in Italy or in Canada, and they were confused by seasonal migration and clandestine emigration. However, a recorded 14 million emigrants left Italy between 1880 and 1920, two-thirds of whom were temporary migrants. The figures were estimated to be too low by 3-4 million (Foerster, 1968: 8, 11, 43).

[25] This book was originally published in 1919.

1950 are analysed in the second section of this chapter. The third section is a consideration of the connection between Canada's expressed desire to become a leading capitalist nation after the Second World War and the production of cheap Italian labour. By reflecting on the Italian experiences in light of Canadian immigration policies we may be able to arrive at a better understanding of the government's policy of multiculturalism and its relevance to Italian involvement in sport in Canada, and, more specifically their involvement in soccer. These conclusions are analysed in more detail in subsequent chapters in this thesis.

B. Prior to 1950

Merchants, artisans and missionaries from the independent City States of the Italian peninsula migrated to the New World following the French initiative at the beginning of the 17th century. Many of these migrants, and Italian soldiers who had been mercenaries in the foreign regiments of the British army, benefitted from the defeat and subsequent domination of New France after 1759. Land was made available to loyalists by the British colonialists, partly for reasons of capital accumulation and partly for reasons of national defence. By the middle of the 19th century thousands of craftsmen, artists, musicians, teachers and small businessmen from the City States had integrated with the earlier migrants and with the French, in Montreal, in Toronto and in southern Ontario (Harney, 1978; Spada, 1969). However, Spada noted that between 1820 and 1870 there were few Italian immigrants as "the colony...did not offer prospects of permanent settlement on legal terms" (ibid: xviii). Moreover, several City States restricted or prevented emigration during the early decades of the 19th century and it was from the northern areas, where the wealth was concentrated, that the more advantaged people were able to migrate to other parts of Europe and the New World (Foerster, 1968: 4).

Between 1859 and 1870 the City States underwent the process of Italian Unification, or The Risorgimento (Rossi and Iaconis, 1975: 240). Canadian Confederation was achieved in 1867. These newly emergent nation states both embarked on the formation of capitalist, national and international policies. In his book, Dangerous Foreigners, Donald Avery pointed out that:

> Canadian immigration policy can only be understood in terms of the country's participation in a wider transatlantic capitalist labour market (1980: 9).

The Risorgimento failed to alleviate the social and economic pressures in Italy, especially in the poverty-striken south. The power had merely been wrested from the feudal aristocrats by the rising bourgeoisie and regional affiliations remained an influential factor as exploitation by, and southern distrust of, the northern government became a feature of Italy's unsettled political system. Ecologically, the peninsula can be considered as three distinct regions which have been partially or totally invaded and settled by competing civilizations. A diverse cultural and political heritage has been influenced by the Greeks, the Celts, the Barbarians (who defeated and broke up the Roman Empire in the 5th century A.D.), the Normans, the Spanish and the French (Canada, 1979: 129; Rossi and Iaconis, 1975: 241).

The failure of the Risorgimento to promote nationalistic identification was mainly due to unfulfilled political promises of major improvements in the material existence of the people. The process of industrialisation was already well established in western Europe and immigrant wage labour was beginning to lay the foundations for advanced capitalism in the New World. It was estimated that between 1870 and 1920 eight out of every ten emigrants to America left from the southern regions of Italy and that the vast majority were unskilled agricultural workers (Foerster, 1968: 40; Rossi and Iaconis, 1975: 248). However, those people who suffered the greatest deprivation were only able to leave in the less depressed eras as it took time to accumulate the cost of the passage. Remittances and family ties led to 'chain migration' to the labour intensive markets of the New World.

Few Italians settled on the land. They were unwelcome as farm labourers and they could not afford to buy land. They were recruited specifically for seasonal construction work which was, in fact, where they believed they could earn enough money to enable them to sustain their families and eventually to return home and purchase a little piece of land in Italy. By the late 1880's Italian cultural stereotyping had emerged: "scab labourers and excitable Latins" (Harney, 1979: 222). Avery noted this theme of transcience in his analysis of the relationship between the industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy, pointing out the challenge offered to the commonly held "notion that most of the Europeans who arrived in Canada during these years [1896-1932] settled permanently on the land" (1980: 7). As a consequence of selective immigration policies, it was not until 1895 that thousands of Italian labourers migrated directly to Canada but the literature would seem to support the belief that many had arrived from America in the late 1880's and that they were working on construction gangs and on John A. Macdonald's 'National Dream'.

Twenty years after Confederation, the Laurier government actively encouraged immigration to Canada from Britain and Western Europe. However, Canada was unable to compete with America until Clifford Sifton was appointed Minister of the Interior in 1896. He instituted a more assertive approach to the job of populating the land and providing private industry with wage labour. Between 1898 and 1908 the government spent six million dollars on promoting immigration (Woodsworth, 1972). Private agencies flourished in Montreal and Toronto while the 'padrone' system[26] proved to be helpful in securing cheap labour as well as perpetuating the reproduction of cultural affiliations. The Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) Company, and other private corporations, had a vested interest in maintaining high levels of immigration as they had forged economically profitable and monopolistic agreements with the government regarding shipping, transportation and employment contracts.

Several sources noted that Italian men could be found wherever there was heavy and dangerous work to be done. They worked on construction gangs on the railways, in the eastern foundries and northern lumber sawmills, in the coal and bituminous mines of British Columbia, in the cobalt mines of Ontario, and the coal mines of Drumheller and the Rockies in Alberta (Avery, 1980;

---

[26] The padrone system was a network of fellow countrymen who acted as ethnic intermediaries or go-betweens with the employers. See Robert F. Harney (1979: 220-236).

Bradwin, 1975; Foerster, 1968; Harney, 1978; Spada, 1969). These ethnically constituted work gangs were moved around from one work camp to another and systematically exploited by their corporate employers and by their own padrone system.[27] Moreover, they were often used as strikebreakers. A comment by a mine manager showed the importance of these industrial recruits to local capital, "How to head off a strike of muckers or labourers for higher wages without the aid of Italian labour I do not know" (Avery, 1980: 33).

The customary loyalty and reproduction of cultural groups evolved into a narrow type of ethnocentrism as a form of solidarity against oppression. Italians became involved in strikes in 1903 and 1906 (Avery,1980: 52-53). The Anglo-controlled unions, which had previously supported conservative immigration policies, gradually attempted to overcome exploitation and ethnocentrism in all cultural groups by appealing to working-class solidarity. By this time nearly five thousand mutual aid societies had proliferated in Italy in order to strengthen a sense of brotherhood by developing working class consciousness. Similar societies were introduced into Canada.

By 1910 social reforms, a degree of occupational stability, female immigration and a growth in the labour market led to the development of Italian communities in Montreal and Toronto (Harney, 1978: 17-20 and 1979: 223; Spada, 1979). Many books on the subject of immigration concentrate on the reaction of the Anglo-Canadian community to European immigrant workers. Avery explained that:

> During this period (1896-1932) Canadian Immigration Policy was essentially determined by English Canadians, in part, because of the fact that every minister of the Immigration Branch and virtually every major official was an Anglo-Canadian, and in part, because the strongest advocates of the "open-door" policy were English Canadian businessmen (1980: 7).

This open door policy had, by 1910, created a major conservative backlash as the social concerns and implications of accepting certain 'races' in such numbers would hamper assimilation and Protestantisation. Particularly worrying was the 'questionable temperament' of Mediterranean Catholics (Leacock, 1975; Woodsworth, 1972). Economic problems in North America and the war in Europe fueled this resurgent racialist ideology[28] to the extent that the government restricted immigration between 1914 and 1945 to little more than the "Only farmers need apply" policy.[29] However, Harney noted that for a brief period from the end of the war until 1924, many Italians did emigrate to Toronto (1979: 226). In Canada, as in America, southern Europeans were discriminated against in the determined effort to develop the Anglo-conformity model. Thousands of immigrants returned to Italy while chain migration was drastically curtailed. A reduced immigration quota, coupled with a desire for social mobility, aided in the process of acculturation to either Anglophone or Francophone society (Harney, 1978: 24 and 1979: 224). Avery explained that between 1929 and 1931 many 'alien' radicals were deported and:

---

[27] For example, the Italian labour agencies of Antonio Cordasco and Alberto Dini were investigated by a Royal Commission in 1904. It was revealed that, as they vied for steamship and employment commissions, they lured thousands of Italian labourers to Montreal but could not provide them with jobs (Avery, 1980: 34).

> Following the harsh treatment accorded some immigrants during the Great War the events of the Great Depression confirmed that Canadian society harboured deep suspicions of its foreign born, particularly of those who dared challenge the prevailing free enterprise system (1980: 13).

Racialist organisations such as The Native Sons of Canada and the Ku-Klux-Klan, parading under the banner of "Protestantism and the Canadian Way of Life" became very successful in the late 1920's, as did the populist movements, particularly on the prairies (Avery, 1980: 108).[30] The rise of Facism and Mussolini in Italy during the 1920's and 1930's caused internal community strife across Canada as fascists and socialists held rallies and counter-rallies, both sides being financially and morally supported by Canadian organisations (Harney, 1978: 26-28 and 1979: 228-230; Spada, 1969: 125).[31] Harney captured the mood of the times when he wrote, "When Italy declared war on Great Britain and her allies, Italo-Canadians were confused and apprehensive" (1978: 30). Hundreds of men were interned by the Canadian government and Italian-Canadians experienced displays of hostility and violence from their fellow Canadians. Many volunteered to fight for Canada in their desire to show their loyalty (Harney, 1978: 31-33 and 1979: 230-231; Spada, 1969: 126).

---

[28] Discriminatory practices and the distribution of racist literature during economic crises are historically significant occurrences. Media documentaries and personal accounts reveal that a virulent form of racism and a subtle form of racialism remain features of Canadian society, especially as they relate to working-class employment. Marx's theory of a reserve army of labour has been used in Canadian sociology ('Last hired, first fired') with reference to ethnic and gender analyses as well as class analyses.

[29] See Sir Clifford Sifton (Palmer, 1975: 34-8).

[30] Howard Palmer (1975: 19) explained that the Klan achieved its greatest success in Saskatchewan during the 1920's when it had about 20,000 members. However, Harney (1980: 108) noted the figure at an estimated 10,000.

[31] R. B. Bennett, the Prime Minister of Canada at this time, refused to prohibit Fascist organisations, stating that the Italian government was friendly towards Canada (Spada, 1969: 127).

In Italy, a shattered post-war economy, regional disparities, overpopulation and unemployment were factors in stimulating renewed emigration. Whilst in Canada a vigorous policy of industrialisation, accompanied by active recruitment of wage labour by the government, combined to restore chain migration to the urban centres of Canada from many different geographical areas of the Italian peninsula.[32] In addition to regional differences, there were also cultural differences between the earlier immigrants and the post war immigrants which created a degree of intra-group social distance (Harney, 1979: 232). This point is elaborated upon in Chapter VI.

C. Post 1950

The 1952 Immigration Act politically institutionalised MacKenzie King's philosophy which was based on the principle of fostering the material and ideological growth of the nation through careful selection of those immigrants who could be absorbed into the national economy and who would not lower the standard of living of the existing Canadian society. The last restriction against enemy 'aliens' was also removed and between 1951 and 1957, 166,379 Italian immigrants entered Canada, effectively doubling the ethnic-Italian category in the 1951 Canadian Census (Canada, 1974: 10,32). Canada was competing in the world market with other industrialised nations for cheap wage labour, skilled workers and professionals who were trained at the expense of other governments.

---

[32] On May 1, 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie King made a speech in the House of Commons endorsing a new immigration policy based on economic growth and wage labour. In his concern for domestic policy he pointed out that it was a privilege not a fundamental human right for "aliens" to be allowed to enter Canada (Palmer, 1975: 58-61).

In 1962, immigration regulations were introduced which eliminated the old geographical bias which had favoured Europeans and the restrictive section regarding Asian sponsorship of relatives was removed in 1967 (Palmer, 1975: 20). A Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism conducted a national study between 1963 and 1966 (Canada, 1966). It had been constituted as a response to the growing assertiveness of French-Canadian political nationalism but the two charter-group orientation of the study provoked dissent from minority groups (Anderson and Frideres, 1980: 314). Prime Minister Pearson instructed the Commission to accommodate these other ethnic groups by taking "their contributions" into account. Consequently an element of cultural pluralism was introduced into governmental policy which eventually became known as multiculturalism. Grants, from both federal and provincial governments, were made available to ethnic groups for cultural activities and multicultural centres were built across Canada.[33]

However, the need for more skilled immigrants for industrial expansion, coupled with a response to world economic and political problems and more enlightened decision making in Canada, precipitated the 1967 'points system', a more open and apparently less discriminatory immigration policy based on the applicant's skill, training and educational status. A recognition of refugee status, or displaced persons, permitted people from the Developing or Third World countries to immigrate to Canada, many of whom became known as 'visible minorities'.[34] By 1974, entry into Canada became more dependent on the availabilty of jobs rather than on the skills of applicants for immigration (Palmer, 1975: 21).

---

[33] See Andrew Nikiforuk (Macleans, February 1, 1982), for a discussion about multicultural education.

[34] See Val Ross, (Macleans, December 14, 1981). The Immigration Act states that refugee status can be granted to any member of a "displaced or persecuted group". It is argued that in reality those groups with more influence and similar ideological preferences to the government are more favoured than many groups who are more likely to be physically persecuted if refused entry into Canada. Many pressure groups are asking that the government present a new and clearer policy on immigration.

The Liberal Government's fostering of multiculturalism, at a time of political unrest in Quebec and when more than twenty-five percent of the population were descended from neither charter group, served to appease or attract the ethnocultural voter. The ideology of cultural pluralism could, therefore, perpetuate the political power of the Liberal party. Despite official recognition of multiculturalism, many observers agree that the perception of a meritocratic society has in fact been limited, in reality, to the middle-classes, while differential access to power and:

> ...the superordinate position of the English-speaking, Euro-Canadian majority, as well as the lowly position of the visibly different ethnic minorities, especially the indigenous people (Indians, Inuit and Metis) is virtually unchanged (Hughes and Kallen, 1976: 114).

During this period, there was a proliferation of ethnic studies which were mainly concerned with cultural socialisation and the degree to which specific groups had adjusted, adapted and integrated into the core-society. Italian community studies were conducted in Toronto by Danziger (1975), Grugier (1975), Harney (1979), Jansen (1971) and Ziegler (1972); in Montreal by Boissevain (1970) and in Edmonton by Hobart (1965), Rees-Powell (1964) and Snyder (1966). Many authors have concluded that the immigration policies of successive Canadian governments have been instrumental in causing residential clustering, while others have concluded that kinship groups and ethnic communities help to stabilise and regulate the behaviour of their members, thereby offering a degree of identification as a basis for gradual acculturation and progressive integration into the core-society.

Charles Hobart's study, "Italian Immigrants in Edmonton: Adjustment and Integration", was completed in 1965 for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. He utilised a combination of methodologies: secondary data analysis, extensive survey research, and a limited number of interviews. From the 1961 Census he concluded: that the Italian group showed the typical, immigration group pattern of a preponderance of members of the young, productive years, of men and of children (page 61); that the Italians had by far the lowest percentage of native born, and also the lowest percentage of pre-war immigrants compared to other immigrant groups in Edmonton (page 67);

that 85 percent of Italians living in the province lived in urban areas and about 80 percent of those lived in Calgary and Edmonton (page 69); that established families played an important role in the adjustment of incoming Italian families (page 80); that the Italian group had only 10 percent of its workforce in elite positions in the occupational structure and a further 10 percent in white collar positions, and that there were four times as many Italian labourers as labourers from the British Isles (page 95). Hobart summarised his findings as follows: Many people lived in the Italian community (defined in an earlier chapter of his study) without any non-Italian friends; families tended to be fairly large and rather patriarchal; there was much evidence of extended family socialisation; Roman Catholicism was nearly universal and church attendance was very high; political involvement was very low; the vast majority reported satisfaction with their situation in Canada; restrictive liquor laws, the weather, language problems and other people's behaviour were most frequently mentioned as sources of dissatisfaction (Hobart, 1965).

Italian communities[35] are certainly a feature of industrialised cities across the country. However, the apparent visibilty of Italian communities in terms of residential clustering and cultural manifestations such as Italian-Canadian soccer teams may lead one to believe that they are proportionally well represented in the Canadian population statistics of ethnic groupings.

The 1951 Census of Canada recorded 152,245 people of Italian ethnicity nationwide; the figure for 1961 was 450,351 and for 1971 the figure had risen to 730,820. Unfortunately, the 1981 census figures for ethnic groups will not be available until the late summer of 1983. However, perusal of the figures for immigration from Italy reveals a steady decline from 30,055 people in 1967 to only 1,740 in 1980. (See Tables 1 and 2). Moreover, these statistics do not take emigrants into account. Considering that the Canadian population has risen to 24,343,181, according to the 1981 Census, I would speculate that

---

[35] The concept, "ethnic community", should not be interpreted to mean an ethnic ghetto but as an extended social network, "not necessarily confined to the immediate neighbourhood" (Newman, et al., 1973: 84). Internal differentiation is maintained with regard to degrees of acculturation, educational level, income and class membership (Richmond, 1967: 97).

Table 1

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING FROM ITALY 1967-73

Year	Sponsored	Nominated	Independent	Totals
1967	24,646*		5,409	30,055
1968	6,186	10,479	3,109	19,774
1969	3,747	4,973	1,663	10,383
1970	3,234	3,660	1,639	8,533
1971	2,807	2,108	875	5,790
1972	2,213	1,836	559	4,608
1973	2,258	2,236	974	5,468

* Sponsored and nominated immigrants were not shown separately in the statistics until 1968.

- Canada: Immigration and Population Statistics, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974.

Table 2

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING FROM ITALY AND THE NUMBERS DESTINED FOR ALBERTA 1970-80

Year	Total	Alberta
1970	8,553	373
1971	5,790	216
1972	4,608	162
1973	5,468	146
1974	5,226	203
1975	5,078	175
1976	4,530	345
1977	3,411	278
1978	2,976	179
1979	1,996	117
1980	1,740	94

- Canada: Immigration Statistics, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1966-73.

- Canada: Immigration Statistics, Department of Employment and Immigration, 1974-80.

people of Italian ethnicity compose approximately 3 percent of that national statistic.

These declining figures may be attributed to four factors. Firstly, the government's 1967 'points system' (based on attracting skilled and educated immigrants) restricted Italian entry (traditionally unskilled and poorly educated). Secondly, as we have noted above, fewer Europeans were permitted into the country in favour of larger quotas of people from Third World countries. Thirdly, increased economic opportunities in Italy may have reduced the desire of Italians to emigrate. Finally, people from inter-group marriages and second and third generation Italian-Canadians may not wish to be recorded within the ethnic Italian category.

Although the 1981 Census figures for ethnic groups are presently unavailable, Table 3 does indicate an interesting trend. In 1971 there was a marked discrepancy between the number of people who registered themselves as members of the Italian ethnic group and the number who registered Italian as their ethnic tongue, as recorded across Canada, in Alberta and in the city of Edmonton. The 1981 Census figures reveal that nearly 10,000 **fewer** people registered Italian as their mother tongue than was the case in the corresponding section for 1971, despite being supplemented by approximately 40,000 Italian immigrants between these dates and presumably by a substantial number of births. Emigrants and deaths would account for a proportion of this reversal but it must be assumed that more and more people from the ethnic Italian category are recording either English or French as their mother tongue. Depending upon whether language retention is considered an important manifestation of cultural identification or, as in Quebec, **the most** important factor, it could be concluded that the process of acculturation to Anglophone or Francophone society is as prevalent under integrationist policies as it was under assimilationist policies.

Another highly significant factor, as indicated in Table 2, is the extremely small number of immigrants arriving from Italy during the decade from 1970 to 1980, who registered Alberta as their destination. Based on the 1971 Census

Table 3

POPULATION FIGURES BY ETHNICITY AND MOTHER TONGUE FOR SPECIFIED AREAS 1971 and 1981

	1971		1981	
	Population by Ethnic Group	Population by Mother Tongue	Population by Ethnic Group	Population by Mother Tongue
CANADA	730,820	538,360	*unavailable	528,775
ALBERTA	24,805	15,570	unavailable	16,180
CITY OF EDMONTON	8,737	6,650	unavailable	6,930

* The 1981 statistics for population by ethnic groups will not be available until September 1983.

These statistics are taken from, Canada: "Special Bulletin Population - Specified Ethnic Groups", Census of Canada 1971, and from a telephone conversation with the statistics Canada office in Edmonton.

---

figures, the yearly immigration figures and the average birth rate, I would estimate that approximately 10,000 residents of the City of Edmonton are currently recorded as ethnic Italians. This estimate, if correct, would mean that less than 2 percent of the population of the City of Edmonton are of Italian descent.[36]

D. Conclusion

It would seem apparent that Italian people became more acceptable as immigrants after 1950 as a result of a combination of the less discriminatory policies and the government's desire to develop Canada into an industrialised and powerful nation state. Historically, Italians have generally proved to be, a hard-working and materialistic people who desired upward social mobility, who believed in the need for educational advancement and who have not played leading roles in industrial action against the owners of the means of production. Indeed, not only have they displayed many of the values held by the core-society, but in general they have appeared to accept acculturation for the purpose of social advancement, especially during times of reduced immigration and economic prosperity. Moreover, Italians have climbed to a higher position in the ethnic hierarchy as more visible minority groups have been admitted to Canada. These conclusions regarding the Italian communities would seem supportive of Howard Palmer's more general findings:

---

[36] The 1982 redefinition of the City of Edmonton boundaries may increase this figure.

> Ironically, then, in light of nativistic fears that these immigrants would undermine middle-class patterns of life and threaten democratic political institutions, these ethnic and religious groups are among the principle defenders of the status quo (1972: 247).

Current government immigration and cultural policies, and those of the recent past, would appear to be a synthesis of the conflict between the traditional conservative and the more progressive liberal philosophies. Moreover, the processes involved in organising Canada into a capitalist nation state also produced a country that has become an economic, and increasingly a cultural dependency of the United States. Capitalism has survived because of its capacity to adapt to changing social conditions and to accommodate differential social relationships by being able to perpetuate and legitimise the ideological reproduction of inegalitarian classes, the members of which not only believe in the philosophical pontifications of an economic and social hierarchy, but who actively support them. Corporations, through a combination of monopoly control and political patronage, have managed to establish hegemony over the state. The contemporary pluralistic ideology, supported by a growing respect for cultural heritages, should be considered with reference to the prevailing social-class structure.[37] As Karl Peter succinctly stated:

> The denial of any economic and political significance to ethnic groups, which is the essence of the governments' policy on multiculturalism, has been adopted by Canadian sociologists and has largely prevented them from analyzing multiculturalism in terms of power and politics (1981: 57).

---

[37] The relationship between socio-economic stratification and cultural pluralism is discussed in great detail by John Porter (1965), and continued by Wallace Clement (1975).

The course of controlled immigration policies continues to be dictated by economic imperatives. Successive government representatives have been responsible for the Departments of Citizenship and Immigration since 1950 which became the Departments of Manpower and Immigration in 1966 and the Departments of Employment and Immigration since 1978.[31] It could be argued that the Minister of State for Multiculturalism is providing no more than a humanistic form of socialisation to the same politically and economically dominated social system which Peter referred to as "ethnic group containment" (1981: 57).

This analysis will proceed, then, based on the assumption that we are not studying a static and culturally biased model of ethnic Italian contributions to Canadian society, but on a dialectical model of inter-group and intra-group dynamics with reference to a disproportionate distribution of power. Power that is manifest in terms of wealth, prestige and privilege and through which access to decision-making processes is denied or limited by the rational use of authority, manipulation or, in the last resort, coercion.[32] Deterministic interpretations will hopefully be avoided by an analysis of the processes of cultural production and reproduction, specifically within the Ital.-Canadian soccer teams.

---

[31] The sexist term 'manpower' would seem to disregard female contribution to the labour force. The more appropriate term 'employment' has been used in recent years.

[32] For a discussion and definition of power see, C. Wright Mills (1980: 41).

V. FROM FOLK-FOOTBALL TO THE NORTH AMERICAN SOCCER LEAGUE

A. Introduction

The historical reality of Canadian social development would appear to belie the pervasive belief that the system's democractic processes and ethnic plurality exemplify an egalitarian society. Canada began as, and continues to be, an economically and ethnically stratified nation. Colonial and aristocratic patronage was institutionalised by the 1867 British North America Act which fashioned the Dominion of Canada. The social relationships which developed from mercantile and propertied interests were dominated by a culturally elite class. Thus, the foundations were laid for bourgeois capitalist development, particularly by English and Scottish entrepreneurs, which, encroached upon by American expansionism, evolved into corporate monopoly control. The majority of non-preferred immigrants were acceptable as wage-labour, in subsistence farming and, to a lesser extent, as petit bourgeois in an established system of agrarian and industrial exploitation.

The same Anglo-elites who controlled economic, political, educational and religious institutions also monopolised the recreational and leisure field, specifically because they alone had the financial means and the discretionary time to pursue these activities. The working-class, the 'questionable' cultures and women[40] were hampered, in whatever desire they may have had to participate in sporting activities, by an oppressive and decidedly undemocratic social system.[41] The British aristocracy, as the leading exponents of organised leisure, exported modern and increasingly codified forms of sporting activity to the colonies. Trading posts, military garrisons, police stations, religious institutions, educational establishments and business and sporting clubs[42] were the major contributors to the ascriptive and paternalistic traditions of Canadian sporting history which is based on a vertical relationship of class, gender and ethnic hegemony.[43]

---

[40] These 'minority groups' are not mutually exclusive and are only specified in order that we may distinguish the interrelationships among class, gender, race and ethnic analyses and their interconnections with the development of industrial capitalism.

[41] Wayne Simpson (1982) examined the elite control of Toronto society in the nineteenth century which created a class stratified system and which influenced sport to the extent that a small group of the "Family Compact" exercised considerable control over the recreational pursuits of their tenants 'on the frontier'.

Quantitative changes in the social structure of the Dominion, American influence, the rationalisation of sport,[44] and technological development in transportation and communication all modified the nature of participation and contributed to the diffusion of sport. Sport, then, does not exist as a separate entity. It is a social phenomenon, a manifestation of group and individual creativity and spontaneity as well as an historical statement of the social relationships that existed in a society which was beginning to develop a capitalist mode of production.

These conclusions are, in effect, a reinterpretation and a summary of the relevant sport history dissertations which have been completed at the University of Alberta (Blackburn, 1974; Cox, 1969; Jobling, 1970; Jones, 1970; Lindsay, 1969; Redmond, 1972; Reid, 1969). The generally held assumptions that a) sport is merely a reflection of society, and that b) by describing 'other contributions' to a developing British-Canadian nation one can arrive at an historical explanation of social change, have been shown in recent years to be deficient as theoretical analyses. As Richard Gruneau explained, the perceived dissolution of class relationships in sporting activities may well have been a condition for the continuation of capitalism (1978b: 206). Moreover, the perception that sport has been democratised is directly connected to the establishment of a welfare state which was itself a prerequisite for the continuation of capitalism.

---

[42] Simpson's (1980) case analysis of the social composition of the Montreal Curling Club between 1807 and 1857 revealed that the professional and commercial elite of Montreal were highly represented in the principle organising positions of the club. His doctoral dissertation (1983) will quantitatively analyse the membership of Toronto's earliest sporting and business clubs between 1827 and 1881 and subsequently draw inferences regarding the connections and associations between business and sport by tracing the ethnic, religious, political, educational and fraternal ties from the content of club records.

[43] For a detailed discussion of power, and changes in the role that sport has played in either consolidating or attentuating the hegemony of dominant groups see, Richard S. Gruneau, (1978b, 1979).

[44] For a detailed discussion on the rationalisation of sport see Alan Ingham (1975).

While it must be acknowledged that much of the work was pioneering and specifically designed to lay the foundations for future projects, much of it may be criticised for being culturally biased and lacking in class and gender analysis. Statements regarding the diffusion of sport into the "masses" implied a degree of intrusion or even illegality on the part of the proletariat:

> However, whereas in the first half of the century the participation of the affluent classes in traditional sports went unchallenged, the later part of the century saw a massive *trespassing* movement, by the less affluent members of society, upon the sports fields. ...Some affluent members of society found it more in keeping with their social status to move into sports which guaranteed at least temporary *sanctity*, such as yachting, tennis and golf (Cox, 1969: 460 [emphasis added]). ...Unlike the laborer class of pre-confederation times, they now had leisure time at their disposal and what was formerly thought of as upper class sports, such as lacrosse and baseball, were *invaded* by the masses (Jones, 1970: 2 [emphasis added]).

The same authors, commenting on the perceived democratisation of sport, rather overstated the case:

> Sports were no longer the prerogative of the affluent members of society, but were available to most Canadians (Cox, 1969: 470). ...By 1920, Canadian sport was firmly established and accepted within society and was no longer an upper or middle class phenomenon; some form of sport was available to every Canadian (Jones, 1970: 534). [This was presumably because] Growth and prosperity was Canada-wide (Jones, 1970: 10).

Statements from the following authors might be disputed by gender analysts:

> Emancipation, if not completely won [by 1924], was well on the way to being completed (Jones, 1970: 418). ...Hall's original contribution, in the form of women's participation in sport, covers a large time span, and is of limited value to the general field of sport due to its limitation with regard to sex (Lindsay: vi).

Gerald Redmond's chronology of nineteenth century Scottish 'contributions' to sport in the Dominion did consider the business and political interests of Scottish colonists and entrepreneurs who also involved themselves in sporting pursuits. However, while the information is detailed, historical reality is somewhat distorted by monocultural reification:

> In fact, the contribution of the Scots to Canadian life in general has been phenomenal (1972: 3). ...All kinds of Scotsmen had been involved in this wide range of sporting endeavour, from the humblest to the most exalted rank (1972: 375). ...And characteristically, when the Scots played, at their own sports or others, they were as calculating and commanding as they were in any other aspect of Canadian life (1972: 376).

As Gruneau has often argued, social historians should study the relational aspects of sport and society, not only the distributional aspects, and:

> While it has been popular among Canadian "sport historians" to emphasize the close association between the patterns and ethos of sport and the supposedly democratic "frontier spirit" of the time, it is even more important to understand that the influence of this "spirit" was mediated by the effects of a conservative political economy and a semi-feudal class structure (1978b: 211).[45]

Wayne Simpson indicated his support for more evaluative analyses in a recent paper which questions the perceived democratic nature of the processes on the frontier and the concomitant democratic evolvement of sport in Canada when he states that, "The profession [sport history] has been lulled into a false sense of security about the democratic spread of sport across the country" (1982b: 1). He argues that the sport history discipline must begin to ask two specific questions "in order that a more 'truthful' historical picture can be realized": a) who were the people involved in the development of sport? b) why were they interested in sport? (ibid: 9).

This chapter attempts to address these two fundamental questions by analysing the class relationships in Canadian society and in Canadian sport and by considering the historical development of the relationship between state controlled soccer and commercially controlled soccer. In order to address these questions the second section offers a background to the historical development of football in England and North America. Conclusions drawn from this section and the previous chapter regarding Italian involvement in sport in general, and in soccer specifically, constitute the next two sections. The fifth section is a review of the related research and the next three sections consider the interrelationships of the state bureaucracy of soccer, elite amateur soccer and commercial soccer and the Italian-Canadian connection with each. Concluding remarks are drawn in the final section.

---

[45] An example of studies which relate inter-group dynamics to the prevailing power structure and to sport is Allen Metcalf (1976). An example of studies which take an immigrant group's aspirations--not the integration project--as its starting point is Bruce Kidd (1981).

B. Historical Development of Football in England and North America

A ball game known as 'football' is recorded in fourteenth century English literature, although it was played in a very different manner from the modern game of association football. Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning believed that "It must have been a wild game, suiting the temper of the people of that age", and that

> Nothing can be more revealing about the kind of game played at that time under the name of football than the constant and, by and large, apparently quite unsuccessful attempts of state and local authorities to suppress it (1971: 116).

Danger to the public order and competition with military training in archery were cited as major reasons for the authorities' opposition to these ball games which were referred to as 'deviant behaviour'. Elias and Dunning theorised that these continual conflicts were a result of the inability of a state organised society to provide activities which were at once individually rewarding and socially tolerable (ibid: 117).[46] The authors explained that games of football in these times were not simply accidental brawls but were normal rituals of traditional societies which provided "an equilibrating type of leisure activity deeply woven into the warp and woof of society" (ibid: 120). They added:

> The folk-game as we see it here reflects a very specific relationship between land owners and peasantry. As one can see, the landowners themselves made it their business to organise, to act as patrons of folk-games of this kind (ibid: 129).

In the introduction of his book on the industrial working-class of England, Engels discussed the social relationships which existed in feudal England when the working people, due to the less competitive nature of their existence,

> ...took part besides [their field work] in the recreations and games of their neighbours, and all these games--bowling, cricket, football, etc., contributed to their physical health and vigour (1973: 42).

Dunning discusses the processes involved in the development of association football from folk-football and distinguished four overlapping stages, each of which were "characterised by more orderly and elaborate behaviour and by more complex, more formal organisation than its predecessors" which periodically "also involved changes in the social context of the game which proved significant for its further development" (1971: 133). The reckless and relatively unregulated folk-game was adapted by English Public School boys from the beginning of the 19th century and played by them in their free time.[47] Each school began to devise its own regulations but this second stage is noted for the absence of authority figures other than the dominance of senior pupils. Indeed, there was a general attitude of hostility by masters towards games and sport and most headmasters forbade inter-school events. Gradually, tolerance gave way to encouragement of intra and inter-school competition, thereby necessitating a basic level of formal organisation and codification with respect for systems of authority. O. Matthew Arnold, headmaster of Rugby from 1828 to 1842, is generally considered to be the leading bourgeois reformer of the Public School system which began to sanction school sport for the purposes of developing 'Muscular Christianity' and reproducing bourgeois values and relationships based on Social Darwinian theory. Finally, association football emerged as a direct result of the rationalisation of sport and the conflicting philosophies of the Public Schools. The game was embraced by the industrial working-class, it was integrated into the capitalist mode of production and became a mass spectator sport at national and international levels.

---

[46] Football was being played in the streets of the towns at the end of the fifteenth century, by which time the feudal peasants were already becoming wage-labourers.

The salient point from this theory with regard to its implications for the development of football in Canada is that the Dominion has little or no tradition of folk-football and only a limited tradition of the second stage of development. Peter Lindsay revealed that an early game of ice football was played during the Christmas festivities at York Factory in 1822 among men of the Hudson's Bay Company (1969: 108). By this time the game was already being subjected to the processes of institutionalisation in England despite the fact that there was not yet any standardisation of the rules, nor any differentiation between football and rugby. However, specialisation and rationalisation were more prominent features of the New World due to a general lack of a traditional society and the more highly organised nature of colonial development.

---

[47] Originally created as schools for the public, first the aristocratic and later the bourgeois classes gradually took control of these institutions in order to reproduce their elite status in society. The charging of fees for admission ensured the role of these schools for social class closure. In elementary public schools physical education was based mainly on the Swedish and German influences of military drill callisthenics and gymnastics. These schools concentrated on discipline in an attempt to maintain peace and stability among the working-class. Class barriers prevented or discouraged athletic competition.

Twelve members of the St. George's Society played football against twelve Irishmen at University Park, Toronto in August 1859 before a crowd of two thousand. Mr. Brown, the President of the Society, "read the rules under which the match was to be played, all players assenting to them" (ibid: 109). This game was played at a time when the Public Schools in England were beginning to subject the game to the third, more formally organised stage of development. The appearance of an official to regulate the play, the general agreement of the players, a crowd, and the institutionalised aspects of the Canadian sport would appear to indicate that this game was a far cry from folk-football and more representative of the prevailing class structure in the Dominion which was based on traditional elitist status and meritocratic liberal values.

Lindsay concluded that games of organised football remained isolated events prior to Confederation, although those games which were recorded clearly support the theory that educational establishments played a leading role in nurturing the sport in the guise of 'Muscular Christianity'. It became a respectable and central part of school life through which, it was believed, one could be taught acceptable values (competitiveness mediated by fairness and losing with honour, leadership, team discipline, deference to authority, etc.) which would stand one in good stead in the realm of the utilitarian activities of business and politics which were to follow. Upper Canada College, the Model Grammar School, Toronto University and Trinity College were all mentioned. The names, titles and positions of people who were involved in the organisation of football, may be indicative of their social class and ethnic background. Sir William Mulock, F. Barlow Cumberland, Joseph Robinson and Company of Sheffield House and Secretary-Treasurer Mr. R. Charlton, who founded the Montreal Football Club which was in operation in 1865, all actively promoted the game. The Sons of St. Crispin in Hamilton and the Caledonian Benevolent Society in Victoria both included football in their annual picnic activities. Military involvement was also recorded in "Garrison versus Civilians" matches in 1866-7 and the sailors of Her Majesty's Gunboat Hercules challenged the townsmen of Kingston in 1867. Elements of folk-football and working-class participation may be gleaned from McDougall's accounts from Fort Edmonton in 1862 and 1866 (ibid: 108-113).

The Football Association was formed in London in 1863 by adopting the Cambridge Rules (first adopted in 1848) which became known as the London Association Rules in Canada. These rules prohibited handling, carrying and "hacking"--the deliberate kicking of an opponent's shins. However, many clubs refused to join as they felt that the regulations would render the game "unmanly" and that handling was an integral part of the game. These clubs went on to form the Rugby Football Union in 1871. Between 1867 and 1876 the game continued to be developed in Canada as the three distinct codes of football began to emerge.[41] This specialisation and diffusion began in England during the 1870's as the middle and upper classes ceased to monopolise the game (Dunning, 1971: 149; Jose, 1976: 2,4).[42]

However, educational and religious institutions, military establishments and private clubs continued to dominate the football scene in Canada during the 1860's, 1870's and 1880's. Amateurism in sport was advanced as one form of social class closure by the elite members of society. Gruneau demonstrated that amateur agencies dominated sport by controlling the influential organisational structures (1978b: 221). The entrepreneurial drive which established the communications system, particularly the railway and the mass media, was a factor in the rational development of football. Both Cox and Jose recorded, as a significant event, the 1876 exhibition game between the newly formed football section of the Carlton Cricket Club of Toronto and the Toronto Lacrosse Club, played under the English (London) Association Rules. In 1878 the Dominion Football Association was formed in order to provide a national administration but it appeared not to have had lasting influence (Cox, 1969: 110-111; Jose, 1976: 4-5). Howell and Howell's contentious claim that "Unlike Canadian football, soccer was not influenced by schools and universities" (1981: 184) would appear to ignore the historical evidence presented by Lindsay, Cox and Jose.

---

[41] The three codes were: association football or soccer, rugby football and North American football. American football was codified in 1874, having been influenced by rugby-playing Canadians from Montreal (Morris, 1981: 14). Conflict in England between traditionalists and progressivists led to the formation of the professional Rugby League in 1895 which was mainly played in the northern industrial towns of England. Rugby Union remained the more elitist amateur game.

[42] Colin Jose begins each of his three sections with page one. To avoid confusion and extra referencing I took the liberty of renumbering the pages of his paper in the conventional manner.

Provincial Associations began to appear after 1880, which according to Cox (1969: 112) and Howell and Howell (1981: 184), gained in influence and support, especially in the west due to the settlement of English and Scottish migrants. Blackburn stated that prior to the 1880's, team sports were "virtually non-existent in Alberta" (1971: 31) but admitted later that in 1862, "soccer" was the first team sport to be played in Alberta by English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish immigrants. He added that by 1890, challenge games, tournaments and eventually leagues, had become established in the cities of the west and in 1906 the Alberta Football Association was formed (1979: 56).[50] However, in that same year of 1906, the Western Canadian Football Association prohibited the playing of the game on Sundays (Jones, 1970: 110). This repressive measure must have had drastic implications for the development of soccer as a working-class game.

The Canadian Intercollegiate Union, a bastion of amateurism, officially recognised the Canadian Intercollegiate Association Football Union in 1904-5 (Cox, 1969: 117). Paternalistic concern over the growth of professionalism, based on elitist abhorrence of seeing the purity of play degraded as work, encouraged the reformation of the Dominion of Canada Football Association in 1912 in order "to try and bring order back to this widespread sport" (Howell and Howell, 1981: 185). Liberal reformists such as Woodsworth had noted with disdain the problems associated with industrialisation in England, particularly how games and sport distracted the populace and weakened their morals. Professional association football had been cultivated during the 1880's in the urban centres of England. Assimilationists were concerned that similar patterns might develop in Canada due to the tremendous increase in immigration at the turn of the century. The symbiotic relationship of urbanisation and professionalism was manifest in the proletarian class, whose members sought financial remuneration, ritual identification, social mobility and communal enjoyment in a harsh environment. The game, therefore, became a form of wage-labour and a consumer commodity. Entrepreneurs, with a keen sense of organisational efficiency and a desire to accrue profits in a competitive capitalist market, both created professionalism and encouraged vicarious entertainment.

---

[50] Schrijvers (1982) notes that the North West Mounted Police played occasional games with the Foothills Indians and that the Alberta Football Association was formed in 1911.

In retrospect it seems unlikely that professional association football could have developed in the social climate of the Dominion for a number of reasons. As a result of governmental immigration policies, deterministic hiring practices and ethnocentrism, ethnic teams became a prevalent feature of urbanisation. Such ethnic teams had already been established by English, Scottish and Irish immigrants. Moreover, ethnic consciousness moderated the growth of class consciousness and retarded the formation of a working-class sport. Professional teams were unable to establish any degree of permanence due to the transient nature of the labour force, a lack of proximal urban bases, intense competition among entrepreneurs, American sport encroachment and repressive measures which were brought to bear on the game by established and influential elites. For example, Jose explained that a dispute between the Dominion of Canada Football Association and the powerful Amateur Athletic Union of Canada in 1913 resulted in the demise of the first professional association football league which had been formed in Ontario and Quebec earlier that year (1976: 14). It was not until thirteen years later that a second professional league was formed. Jones noted the "English domination of Canadian Sport" (1970: 491), although no mention was made of other Anglo-Canadian groups nor of American influence. The numerous team lists of the day leave one in little doubt as to the ethnic origins of the majority of players.

Howell and Howell observed that "soccer" was slow to reorganise after World War I (1981: 185). This is hardly surprising as all normal football activity had been suspended during the war years while the propaganda from the war office exhorted the virile young men of the colonies to 'go and do their bit against the Hun'. Nationalistic fervour encouraged whole teams to 'accept the King's Shilling'. Blackburn informed us that a reported ninety percent of the Edmonton Association Football League players 'joined up' (1971: 69). He also quoted from the Edmonton Bulletin that "Nowhere else in the British Empire can any branch of athletics make claim to greater sacrifice" (March 7, 1916).

During the 1920's and 1930's, association football became more popular among players and spectators but it remained almost totally under the control of male Anglo-Canadians and was heavily influenced by touring teams from Britain.[51] These club and national teams, although not usually at full strength, had little trouble in defeating the Canadian teams. The games were often watched by several thousand spectators, even in the sparsely populated prairies. Canadian teams also toured the United States, Britain, Australia and New Zealand (Howell and Howell, 1981: 259; Jose, 1976: 15).

In 1926 the establishment of the International League was a second attempt to form a professional league, this time involving American teams and American capital. However, it met with little more success than its predecessor, surviving for only one season (Jose, 1976: 16). In the same year the National Soccer League was formed following a dispute with the Interprovincial League and as an attempt to carry on from where the International League had left off. There was a great deal of team reorganisation, league competition and fixture confusion at this time according to Jose and Rannie (1982: 125). As Gruneau points out, the intense period of entrepreneurial activity in Canadian political economy was also a feature of Canadian sport but during the second decade of the twentieth century sport organisation and ownership began to evolve from an entrepreneurial to a corporate orientation (1978b: 227). Association football as a non-North American sport, could be considered to be an exception to this generalisation.

---

[51] In 1922 the National Associations annual meeting was presented with a motion seeking the establishment of a Ladies Football Association. The motion was rejected on the grounds that women were not built to withstand the bruising inherent in the game (Thomas, 1973: 9).

The names of clubs and players during these years would seem to indicate a continuation of Anglo-Canadian domination, although other ethnic teams and industrial teams were further indication of a growing interest in the game. Not unnaturally, the playing standard also improved as many of the club results against successful European teams illustrates. For example, Toronto Scottish and Toronto Ulster combined forces in a game against Glasgow Celtic which they narrowly lost by three goals to one before 10,000 fans in Toronto (Jose, 1976: 18). However, despite becoming the most popular team sport in the world by 1940, association football had been eclipsed in Canada by American sport and American controlled sport. Profit maximisation through monopoly control came rather late to association football in Canada. These historical facts contributed to the retardation of the development of the game at both the professional and amateur levels.

All normal football activity was suspended for the duration of World War II as it had been during the Great War. After 1945, as amateur and professional sport grew in popularity, political involvement became more prevalent, driven by concerns for maintaining a physically able population for work and defence of the nation. Two World Wars and a depression impressed upon the political leadership the need for state control of sport as well as the need to provide a basis for continued growth in privately controlled and commercial sport.

Gruneau detailed the interlocking, organisational structure of corporate and state controlled sport in Canada since the 1950's as:

1. amateur organisational agencies which include national associations and international amateur sports governing bodies;
2. commercial organisations (National Hockey League, Canadian Football League, American Baseball League, North American Soccer League);
3. a state bureaucratic structure where government agencies at both the

federal and provincial levels play a mediating role between the public and private spheres of sport. Competitive and recreational programmes are produced in conjunction with voluntary associations which are interested in sport (1978b: 230-35).

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine in detail this highly complex differentiation of sporting bodies, their interrelationships and the relative position and development of association football. However, it would be instructive to consider one manifestation of each of the three areas articulated by Gruneau. These sections will be preceded by several propositions which relate to Italian participation in sport, a discussion of Italian involvement in soccer and a review of the pertinent literature.

C. Italians and Sport

The rationale for explaining why Italians appeared to have played little part in the early sports' scene of the Dominion of Canada, but an increasingly more significant role in the development of soccer as a working-class sport, may be summarised in the following manner.[52]

1. The vast majority of Italians were male migrants who laboured in order to remit capital to Italy so as to enhance the social standing of their families.
2. These economic priorities meant that the workers were prepared to accept low wages and to tolerate unsatisfactory working conditions.
3. Non-existent job security and fear of being laid off meant that there was a general reluctance to support North American working-class movements, thereby increasing their susceptibilty to exploitation.
4. Italians congregated in cultural enclaves and ethnocentrism became a shield against prejudice and discrimination.
5. Alienated from main stream society, they laboured such long hours that they probably had neither the time nor the energy to participate in sport.

---

[52] Many of these points may also be applied to other ethnocultural minority groups as their relationship to the development of the Canadian State, and their experiences in Canada, will be similar.

6. Increasing industrialisation, a degree of stability and a shorter working week, all provided the possibilities for increased sporting participation. However, a series of municipal by-laws restricted the working-class from playful activity which was considered to be non-utilitarian and even subversive to the moral order. Protestant domination repeatedly prevented sport from being played on the "Lords Day", the only day free from labour for the working-class.
7. Sport and leisure activities were traditionally the prerogative of the colonial elite class and subsequently the bourgeoisie, who possessed the economic necessities and provided the facilities to suit their own interests.
8. As the working-class began to organise themselves into football teams and to play competitive games, tournaments and eventually in leagues, professionalism developed partly as a response to the non-utilitarian philosophy of amateurism. The elite began to find the 'common' games more and more distasteful; especially disdained were the professional athletes and commercial sport.
9. Ethnic sport teams became a feature of twentieth century Canada as a natural outgrowth from ethnic communities (clustering) and ethnocultural specialisation in the labour force.
10. Association football became the Italian national game. Italy won the World Cup in 1934 and 1938. It was not unnatural that Italians and people of Italian descent should play the game in Canada.

D. Italians and Soccer

Spada explained that Italians, among other ethnic groups, had endeavoured since the beginning of the century to introduce football to Canada and that since 1925 association football clubs in Montreal and Toronto had featured titles such as "Montreal Italia", "Cantalia", "L'Italica" or "International Ital.-Canada Soccer". Professional and semi-professional teams were supported by the people in these cities and some teams had toured abroad. Spada added that many teams were short lived because of a lack of financial success. He also discussed soccer *tifosi* (addicts) and offered a list of star players as well as honouring several entrepreneurs (1969: 167-168).

Prior to 1950, the progressive advancement of American monopoly capitalism and the insidious manoeuvering towards cultural hegemony propelled American controlled sport to the forefront of the Canadian sporting scene, especially in the prairies and usually at the expense of the incipient growth of association football. Indeed the adoption of the term 'soccer' in order to accommodate the misnomer, North American 'football', is indicative of this dominant-dependency relationship between the two countries.[53]

However, the expressed desire of politicians that Canada should compete in the capitalist world market after 1945, precipitated the movement towards the creation of conurbations and a concomitant increase in immigrant wage-labour. Immigrant sportsmen adapted to the established pattern of Canadian sport and soccer was, of course, already a way of life for many. Soccer became known as an immigrant game and the majority of the population, from the more traditional Anglo-Canadian society, had become aficianados of the American games and ice-hockey.

Rather than conclude that the playing of soccer by ethnic groups impeded assimliation into the core-society, it might be more accurate to postulate that by retaining an active interest in soccer, and by not more readily identifying with American controlled sport, many immigrants retarded co-option into a North American society which has been more concerned with material production than cultural reproduction. However, as Jose points out, "the administration of the game remained in the hands of the British while still others took to coaching Canadian boys" (1976: 21). He went on to explain that continental Europeans, especially the Italians, were mainly responsible for the sustained interest in the game between 1955 and 1970, although in British

---

[53] Bruce Thomas noted that "Although the game, from its origins, has always been known as football, the Canadian Association removed football from its masthead two years ago and is now known simply as the Canadian Soccer Association" (1973: 7).

Columbia soccer maintained a higher profile among "native born Canadians" than in the rest of Canada.

E. Related Research

John Pooley's study, which examined the role of soccer in the ethnic assimilation process of American society, has appeared in many publications since it was conducted in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1968. He endeavoured to determine, by utilising a structural-functionalist framework, how soccer participation affected ethnic group 'movement' into a "core-society" which was considered to be non-problematic. His usage of the concept assimilation implied a degree of inevitability and, as such, it indicated a cultural bias. He concluded that:

> With some exceptions, involvement in ethnic soccer is not conducive of furthering assimilation, and that more specifically, club policies of ethnic soccer clubs inhibit the structural assimilation of members (1981: 443).

A more complex study by James McKay in 1975 analysed the effect of sport involvement on the acculturation and structural assimilation of Italian-born soccer players and compared the results with Pooley's findings. By differentiating between cultural and structural adaptation, McKay was able to offer a greater insight into group relationships than had Pooley. McKay's methodology was also more sophisticated in that he utilised a combination of questionnaire data collection, interviews with club executives and coaches, participant observation and interviews with journalists and soccer executives. He had also progressed from the theory that sport is merely a reflection of society, in that he noted that like any other social institution "sport has a frame of values, defined forms and prescribed fronts" (1975: 4).

McKay revealed that of the 90 soccer teams registered in the Toronto District Soccer League, no less than 30 bore Italian affiliations. He offered a detailed review of theoretical perspectives and alluded to the importance of understanding power relationships and their implications for social change (ibid: 17). He also included an interesting section on consensus and conflict theories and highlighted the limitations of both perspectives:

> It would appear as though inter-ethnic relations are at least dialectical processes involving the attitudes and behaviour of both the superordinate and the subordinate groups (ibid: 20).

In a similar vein, the use of ideal typologies which disguised objective reality were also criticised:

> Romantic characterization of the United States and Canada in terms of melting pot and mosaic simply obfuscate social realities. Ethnic stratification is a major characteristic of each society--differences exist not in kind but in degree (ibid: 26).

Commenting on the traditionally popular theory that sport is an agent of social mobility and a facilitator of ethnic integration, McKay stated that "empirical research on Canadian sport does not support such political rhetoric" (ibid: 30). He added that ascriptive characteristics were still more prevalent in amateur sport than achievement characteristics. However, in his conclusion, he remarked that recruitment practices in soccer precipitated a movement towards achievement rather than ascriptive characteristics and a greater degree of cultural exposure (ibid: 84). The apparent contradiction may be explained in terms of inter-group relationships. The former findings were drawn from elite studies which considered the relationships between the dominant and subordinate groups and the use of sport for class closure. Mckay was studying a working-class sport played by a minority culture in Canada--the Italians--who accepted talented players from other cultural groups, particularly the British, to augment their teams' strength. His was not a class analysis nor did he analyse organisational structure. It is not surprising then, that McKay's conclusion did not correspond to the referenced material.

An excellent review of the pertinent literature culminated with the advice that psychological analyses should be studied in relation to historical and structural imperatives. However, it was somewhat disquieting that, having postulated a dialectical analysis and having noted the importance of macro-level theorising, McKay's study was basically confined to the subjective variable that immigrants attempt to maintain the social environment which is most familiar to them.

McKay concluded that the emphasis on winning appeared to take precedence over maintaining ethnic homogeneity of the club and that "patriotism was non-existent".

> Unlike Pooley's findings in Milwaulkee, recruitment was not based on the criteria of ethnic background and neither was there a strong sense of ethnic sentiment running through any of the teams (ibid: 60).

He also noted that primary and secondary involvement in soccer was an important component of leisure life-style for members of the Italian community.[54]

Pooley's Milwaukee study was replicated in London, Ontario in 1977 by Robert Day. By interpreting club policy and analysing membership characteristics within the various ethnic groups Day's conclusion, contradicting Pooley's findings, was that the London clubs encouraged assimilation[55] because of the intensely competitive nature of the league and the resultant practice of recruiting. Although McKay's work was not referenced, Day's findings were clearly more supportive of the conclusions from the Toronto study.

However, due to their similarity, the criticisms levelled at Pooley's study also apply to Day's study, especially as the latter made no reference to the prevailing Canadian political policy of multiculturalism while concentrating on the concept of assimilation rather than the more appropriate concept of integration. The limitations of the theories that sport is a mirror of society or that sport shapes society have been documented elsewhere. Moreover, discussions relating the "colourful history" of soccer while it is "struggling through its embryonic stages of development in North America" reveal a scant knowledge of historical reality (Day, 1981: 40-1).

An abrasive and polemic report on soccer in Canada by Bruce Thomas in 1973, proposed that the development of soccer could be achieved through organisational efficiency and a deliberate and overt policy of Canadianisation. The report, which was commissioned by Mr. John Munro in 1972 when he was the Minister of National Health and Welfare, was published following consultation with the Director and staff of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate, members of the Canadian Soccer Association and members of the various soccer associations across Canada. Many of the findings would appear to be in direct contradiction to the Canadian government's espoused policy of multiculturalism. Ideological content was implicit in his desire to "achieve international recognition through athletic endeavours".

---

[54] From his general analysis I took this to mean male members of the community.

[55] Acculturation may have been a more appropriate term to use here.

> It [soccer] contains potential for enhancing our national prestige while allowing for the development of a stronger national identity (Thomas, 1973: 5).

This brand of nationalism, or Anglo-conformity, necessitated the eradication of ethnic affiliations which were seen not only to retard the development of soccer, but also to create a "powder keg" atmosphere in which fierce and bitter ethnic rivalries and spectator violence were not uncommon.[56] Soccer, therefore, could be used as a means of social control and a tool for assimilation:

> Here is the first stepping stone to the development of a new national pride in Canada, the land of their adoption. Soccer at this level is a unifier of all Canadians, irrespective of origin (Thomas, 1973: 28).

This goal of Canadianisation was to be achieved through the implementation of a policy which combined financial incentives with authoritarian prohibitions (ibid: 55-7).

Thomas also indicated an awareness of American sports' influence in inhibiting the development of soccer, especially in educational institutions:

> Canadian soccer's lack of an adequate profile after 60 years of organized play can be attributed to the American sport-cultural domination of this country (ibid: 5).

While noting the similarities between soccer and hockey for players and spectators, Thomas stated that hockey "remains the only team sport in which a player can engage in a fight and remain in the game" and cited a research report which substantiated the belief that there has been a "spill-over" in the attitude of players from one game to another. He also intimated that referees had a very difficult and most important job which was generally performed quite well. However, Thomas concluded that a general improvement could be achieved by more intensive recruitment of referees and more training clinics for practising referees (ibid: 25).

---

[56] Thomas' essentially atheoretical and ahistorical comments about ethnic rivalries and ethnic violence are not only contentious but also culturally biased. A contextual and historical analysis would place these observed phenomena in perspective.

A 1973 report on "Competition and the Child" by Richard Alderman and Stuart Robbins which warned of the negative consequences of placing too much stress on competition and winning at too young an age was reviewed by Thomas. He concluded that rule modifications and deemphasis on being competitive would enhance skill development (ibid: 29-30). A national survey carried out at this time revealed that playing fields and soccer facilities in Canada were considered to be so poor in comparison to other sporting facilities that they were tantamount to "a national disgrace" (ibid: 45). In conclusion, Thomas recommended the implementation of closer working relationships among all governing bodies responsible for the development of soccer in Canada (Federal and Provincial governments, Canadian Soccer Association and its various affiliates, Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union and professional soccer).

Janet Lever's study of professional soccer and the career opportunities of players in socially stratified Brazil is as interesting as it is revealing. Her introductory paragraph indicates the level to which personal identification may reach:

> Soccer in Latin America is more than a game, more than a Saturday afternoon amusement for work-weary fans, more than a means of employment and sometimes high reward for an athletic elite. It is an all-consuming commitment bordering on fanaticism (1972: 138).

The highly readable and informative popular publication, The Soccer Tribe by Desmond Morris should be required reading for students who wish to approach the study of sport from an anthropological and/or a sociological perspective. Morris' position is clearly that of an unitiated observer of ritual behaviour and his analysis is not a theoretically profound piece of literature but the massive collection of data is presented in a manner which forces the reader to question the 'taken-for-granted-life-world' of the most pervasive and yet the most simplistic game in the world today (1981). A recent compilation by Colin Jose and William Rannie, "The Story of Soccer in Canada" is a useful source for reference material (1982).

Gerald Redmond's C.A.H.P.E.R. monograph Sport and Ethnic Groups in Canada contains a section which reviews the literature pertinent to soccer as an ethnic game in terms of the structural-functionalist debate regarding "assimilation-through-sport and/or ethnic solidarity-in-sport" (1978: 48). He also refers to the apparent contradiction between soccer administrators and state policy:

> Certainly, too, the proposal to deliberately dissipate ethnicity in Canadian soccer seems strangely at odds with the oft-proclaimed boast of support and tolerance for ethnic customs in our multicultural society (ibid).

F. The State Bureaucracy of Soccer

The Canadian Soccer Association, as the federal government agency, and the Alberta Soccer Association, as the provincial government agency, together provide the basis for a state bureaucratic structure which plays a mediating role between the public and private spheres of soccer. There have been repeated attempts to organise a national administration since 1878 and a provincial administration has been operative in Alberta since 1911. At the municipal level, the Edmonton District Football Association "was incorporated in 1909 with official recognition of the game and some funding by the government" (Schrijvers, 1982: 1).

A perusal of the relevant literature on the organisation of Canadian amateur soccer, supported by individuals who are involved in the production of the game, would seem to indicate that decision-making positions are predominantly occupied by middle-class, Anglo-Canadian males and to a lesser extent by middle-class males of western European descent. Corporate involvement in the sport is evidenced in the financial support from Adidas (Canada) Limited, Air Canada, Fitness and Amateur Sport Canada, Coca-Cola, Labatt Brewing Company Limited and Shoppers Drug Mart.

In response to a letter requesting information, philosophy and personal opinions regarding the development of soccer in relation to the multicultural policy of the country, I received the following reply from Eric King, the Executive Director of the C.S.A.[57]:

> Soccer being the international sport that it is, is very popular among the ethnic communities across Canada. It is an integral part of the lives of our new Canadians. ...Suffice it to say that this Association neither encourages nor discourages ethnicity within the sport. We do believe, however, that ethnicity will decline through evolution and the passing of time. To some degree the sport is already losing the image of being a foreign sport, played mainly by ethnic groups, due to the thousands of Canadian born players participation in the game today. ...The ethnic community of the country kept the game alive for many years, and for that all Canadians are grateful.

Similar requests were mailed to the sectretary of the Alberta Soccer Association and to Mr. Kevan Pipe, the Executive Director of the A.S.A.. Neither letter was replied to. An informal discussion with an A.S.A. administrator revealed that the provincial body would probably support the statement made by the national Executive Director.

The Alberta Soccer Association was formed in 1975 through the amalgamation of the Alberta Minor Soccer Association, the Alberta Senior Soccer Association and the Alberta Football Association. The objective was to promote and administer the game more efficiently. At this time, the Provincial Government's Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation was establishing Sport Alberta with the aim of providing sport governing bodies with grants in order that they might develop sport delivery systems (Schrijvers, ibid: 5).[58] In 1982 the A.S.A. received approximately 75,000 dollars from government funding as well as an unspecified amount from private corporations. The Association is also the recipient of occasional grants for special funding. For example, they received 30,000 dollars in 1980 for the 75th Anniversary celebrations.[59]

---

[57] An earlier request was met with the reply that the C.S.A. did not, unfortunately, have "any statistics related to the inter-relationship between soccer and ethnicity" but that they were "aware that the ethnic makeup of Canada has greatly assisted the development of soccer over the years..."

[58] Since 1973 the Department of Culture, Youth and Receation has recognised soccer as being both a sport and a recreational pursuit, thereby making it possible for the administration to apply for larger grants and budgets.

[59] This information was a acquired during a telephone conversation with Kevan Pipe on March 1, 1983.

The promotion of several special events in Alberta is a manifestation of the relationship between corporate and state controlled soccer. In 1976, the prestigious New York Cosmos of the N.A.S.L. and their international superstar, Pele, were invited to play against Canada's National Team at Clarke Stadium in Edmonton. Pele also participated in several autograph sessions in order to stimulate interest in the game. Two teachers and aspiring entrepreneurs, Brian Rice and Joe Petrone, formed the Edmonton Black Gold[60] in 1978 in order to convince the N.A.S.L. cartel that a franchise in Edmonton would be a lucrative investment. Internationally known professionals played with local players in games against touring teams from Europe and from the N.A.S.L. (ibid: 8). Despite disappointing results in terms of community support for these ventures, entrepreneurs Pocklington and Skalbania were encouraged to purchase N.A.S.L. franchises for Edmonton and Calgary respectively. Both franchises subsequently collapsed.

However, despite these unsuccessful attempts to create an environment for the production of soccer as a consumer commodity, Schrijvers points out that the game has thrived as a participation sport to the extent that more children in Edmonton have become involved in soccer programmes than in hockey programmes. More than 20,000 youngsters are registered as minor league players with the A.S.A.; the number of school teams has grown rapidly, as has the number of rural teams and girls' teams (ibid: 10).[61]

The Ital.-Canadian senior team competes in the Premier Division of the Edmonton District Soccer Association (outdoors in the summer) and in the First Division of the Edmonton District Soccer Association (in the Kinsmen Fieldhouse during the winter). The E.D.S.A. is an independent body which is affiliated with the A.S.A. and which leases facilities from the municipal government. The Italian-Canadians pay approximately 1,000 dollars to the E.D.S.A. to compete in the outdoor season and 800 dollars to compete in the indoor season. Various means are adopted by the teams in their efforts to raise the necessary finances, including sponsorship, donations, raffles, casinos and player contributions. The administration has no plans to expand the leagues as there are insufficient fields to accommodate further growth. According to Jim Hill, the Vice-President of the E.D.S.A., and many other people who are involved in the production of soccer in Edmonton, the municipal government's facilities are inadequate, over-used and poorly maintained.[62] Many games were formerly played at the central location of Clarke Stadium where they received good community support until the municipal government raised the rent to prohibitive levels.

---

[60] Presumably advertising Edmonton's oil riches.

[61] Edmonton Minor Soccer Association administrative director, George Hallett, told Ray Turchansky that the Association has had a basic growth rate of 10 percent in the last five years (Edmonton Journal, June 15, 1982).

The E.D.S.A. has attempted to partially overcome this problem by leasing the privately owned fields which belong to Edmonton Scottish and to Victoria (a German ethnically-oriented team founded in 1896). While the fields are usually in excellent condition, the fact that they are situated on the southern and northern extremities of the city respectively makes their location inconvenient for players and spectators alike. The Association would like to purchase enough land to place four fields together with the 60,000 dollars that it has in the bank and possible municipal funding. The Association administrates seven summer leagues (approximately 60 teams) and three winter leagues (36 teams). There appears to be a great deal of money circulating among private, state and independent organisations. However, there is a general feeling among the people to whom I have talked that the game is not well organised and that the facilities are poor, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

The Chilean teams, which previously competed in the E.D.S.A., withdrew in 1982 and formed their own association for all age groups. Hill said that "they had problems with us [E.D.S.A.]...and we had problems with them". This statement would provide an interesting basis for further studies on cultural reproduction and sport particularly in light of the recent immigration of many Chileans who appear to display not only high levels of ethnic consciousness, but also high levels of working-class consciousness.

---

[62] Neil Reilly (sports and athletics adviser for the City of Edmonton Parks and Recreation Department) stated that their facilities were used by 669 male and 87 female soccer teams in 1982 compared to 659 and 89 teams respectively in 1981 (Turchansky, *Edmonton Journal*, June 15, 1982).

G. Elite Amateur Soccer

As has already been noted the Canadian Intercollegiate Athletics Union (C.I.A.U.) has been the bastion of amateurism since the 19th century. The University of Alberta Golden Bears soccer team is affiliated with the Edmonton District Soccer Association (E.D.S.A.) as well as with the C.I.A.U. and the governing body of university sport liases with the Canadian Soccer Association to discuss problems and implement recommendations.

There have, however, been conflicts between the University and the E.D.S.A. regarding player and team priorities. The University's administration feel that the short C.I.A.U. season (September to November) should take precedence. The E.D.S.A. feel that the affiliated teams, who compete during a full summer season, should not be asked to release key players to the University at a crucial period in the season. The University has been accused by the E.D.S.A. of 'tampering' and organising 'unconstitutional tournaments'.

The Ital.-Canadians have been at the centre of this conflict as their traditionally successful E.D.S.A. team has also provided the University with key players. University administrators believe that varsity representation is a most important aspect of a player's career and perceive the Ital.-Canadians and other ethnically-oriented teams to be an impediment to player and team development. The Ital.-Canadian coach and some parents play down the significance of the varsity team, citing the short season and inconsistent coaching to be good reasons for placing more emphasis on the community teams in the pursuit of representative honours for the players. The players, caught in a conflict of loyalties, are often subject to pressure from both sides.

In an attempt to overcome these conflicts and the problems of continuity, it has been proposed that the University team should become a club team and compete in a local league for the duration of the summer season. Such a move would probably be opposed by the E.D.S.A. and many of the league teams as it is feared that the University would simply accumulate the most skilful players and reduce the competitive edge of the league. Funding might also be a major problem as Athletic Services might be unable to finance such a venture with university capital. The Provincial Heritage Fund 1,000 dollar scholarship per varsity squad member might also be affected. It has been suggested that the C.I.A.U. form an indoor competition and compete only during the winter months. Not unnaturally, soccer purists baulk at such a suggestion.

Four of the six most recent holders of the decision-making positions of head coach and assistant coach, of the Golden Bears soccer team were either British or naturalised Canadians from Britain and the other two were Anglo-Canadians (one of whom was a hockey coach with limited knowledge of, or experience in, soccer coaching). Of the leading contenders for the coaching positions for the 1983 season, one is British and the other is a naturalised Canadian from Britain.

The relationship between state controlled sport and commercially controlled sport was manifest in 1981 when Bruce Twamley, an Edmonton Drillers' coach, was appointed varsity coach in addition to being the coach to the Alberta Under 21 team and the Alberta Inter-Provincial team. Several of the varsity and Alberta players were linked to the Drillers' organisation and two of them, DeLuca and Poole, played for the Drillers during the final season of the franchise. Twamley and his varsity assistant, Sandy Gordon, were both in favour of the Canadianisation of the game and believed that ethnically-oriented teams inhibited the development of Canadian representative teams.

H. Professional Players: Entertainers or Commodities?

Association Football is a form of mass entertainment which in many ways is being transformed by business interests and technological developments into a packaged, consumer event. Peripheral and vicarious entertainment is particularly prevalent in North American soccer. The telecasts from the 1982 World Cup Tournament in Spain were dissected into slow motion replays and edited highlights which were subsequently analysed by 'football personalities' in post game debates all over the world. These contributions to the perceived aesthetic qualities of the game were supplemented by skilful performances from the highly priced and well presented virtuosos on the field. As Desmond Morris pointed out, there is continual conflict between the progressive and traditional interest groups, and: "to the puritans, the American soccer match looks like a musical spectacular, with intervals for a little sport" (1981: 28).

In a Sunday Times article, Rob Hughes reviewed two 'top class' entertainers, Jennifer Penny a member of the Royal Ballet and Frank Worthington a professional footballer with Birmingham City, and examined the similarities between their contrasting disciplines (dedication, training, presentation, timing, etc.). At the time that the article was written Worthington was hoping to be selected for England's World Cup squad. His brief international career had come at a time when a 'caretaker' manager had attempted to make the English team more attractive to watch by introducing more skilful players who had a tendency towards egocentrism and were therefore less 'team' oriented (February 21, 1982).[63]

Paolo Rossi, the twenty five year old star of Juventus and Italy, won the World Cup's Golden Boot Award for being the tournament's leading goal scorer. He also attracted the most votes for the Golden Ball Award, as the outstanding player of 'El Mundial'.[64] The similarities with ceremonial awards in other realms of popular entertainment are obvious.

The skilful Brazilian team and their 15,000 supporters were well received in Spain. A veteran Brazilian journalist explained:

> I think that it is because the Brazilians try to play such beautiful football, especially this latest team. ...You could say that the Brazilians remember that soccer is above all a game. And why do you play games? It is to enjoy yourself (Lawton, Edmonton Journal, July 11, 1982).

There is a relationship between "beautiful football" as entertainment and financial investment, for the sport is undoubtedly a profitable enterprise for multinational corporations, team owners and 'top class' players. James Lawton pointed out that "...the World Cup, for all its colour and fleeting dramas, is run by Adidas and Coca-Cola, business empires which have schedules and sales figures to meet" (Edmonton Journal, July 9, 1982).

---

[63] Worthington was not selected for England's World Cup squad.

[64] 'El Mundial' is Spanish for 'the World Cup'.

The Federation Internationale de Football Association (F.I.F.A.), as the all powerful governing body of world football, increased the number of teams for the 1982 Tournament from sixteen to twenty-four. They:

> ...intend doubling the 61 million dollar turnover achieved in Argentina in 1978. ...Television rights have been sold for 29 million dollars. Advertising inside the grounds guarantees a further 26 million dollars. Sales, mascots, coins and stamps will bring in at least another 22 million dollars. The remaining 44 million dollars will be taken at the gate (Edmonton Soccer Express, February 1981).

James Lawton explained that the conflict between the Italian team and the Italian press during the early rounds prompted the manager and the players to sever relations with all journalists in response to mounting criticism.

> Appalled by the fact that the team was receiving more than 50,000 dollars per man in bonuses for progressing to the second phase despite utterly sterile performances against Poland, Peru and the Cameroons, the paparazzi chorused, "Give it to the poor" (Edmonton Journal, June 30, 1982).

The Italian press later revealed that each player would receive as much as 130 million lire (91,000 dollars) for bonuses based on television rights, advertising and the sale of tickets (Associated Press, Edmonton Journal, July 14, 1982).[65] Ray Turchansky reported that Paolo Rossi received 1,000 litres of wine, a life-long supply of shoes and the equivalent of a British knighthood,[66] and added; "Obviously he was excused his previous wrongdoings" (Edmonton Journal, July 9, 1982).

This reference to Rossi's "previous wrongdoings" concerns his complicity in the 1980 match-fixing and betting scandal which involved forty Italian players.[67] Goalkeepers Albertosi and Cacciatori, and Colombo, the president of Milan, were all banned from the game for life. Other players were suspended for periods of up to five years. Although no allegation was ever made that he had accepted money, only that he had failed to testify against fellow players, Rossi was given a three year suspension to commence in May, 1980. However, this was twice reduced during the time of negotiations for his transfer to Juventus. He returned to action in April, 1982, barely soon enough to develop match fitness before travelling to Spain (Morris, 1981: 65; Turchansky, Edmonton Journal, July 9, 1982).

---

[65] The abbreviaiton A.P. will be used for Associated Press hereafter.

[66] Clive Gammon reported that President Pertini announced that he would make Rossi a *commendatore*, the highest civil title that the Republic awards (Sports Illustrated, July 19, 1982).

[67] The Italian police had charged the players with fraud, following a claim by two betters that they had not received due return on as much as 240,000 dollars that they had paid a team, to 'influence' the results of games (Gammon, Sports Illustrated, July 19, 1982).

The current European champions, West Germany, reportedly each forfeited a 50,000 dollar bonus when they were defeated by Italy (A.P., Edmonton Journal, July 12, 1982), and the Kuwait players had been promised 200,000 dollars each had they reached the second round (Gammon, Sports Illustrated, July 5, 1982). Small businessmen also managed to extract a profit; the Journal News Service reported that ticket 'scalpers' were asking 500 dollars for an official 20 dollar ticket for the Cup Final (Edmonton Journal, July 11, 1982).

Sport, as a business enterprise, ultimately reduces everything to the level of the commodity. Professional sportspersons become commodities through the process of objectification and are bought and sold directly (as transactions between owners) and indirectly (as entertainment by the owners to the public). For example, James Lawton informed us that:

> ...Juventus of Turin, the sporting fiefdom of the Agnelli family, who own the Fiat auto giant...agreed to pay the Polish Football Federation more than 3 million dollars for [Boniek] the slim, quick forward from Lodz (Edmonton Journal, July 3, 1982).

Juventus had previously paid Perugia, another Italian First Division team, a reported 3.5 million dollars for Paolo Rossi while under suspension (Turchansky, Edmonton Journal, July 9, 1982). Prior to the World Cup Tournament, Real Madrid of Spain had negotiated the transfer of Argentinian, Diego Maradona, at a cost of 12 million dollars (Lawton, Edmonton Journal, July 3, 1982).[41]

Sport is a highly complicated national and international business, especially in North America. Private ownership, multinational corporate control, taxation benefits, television broadcasting, advertising, food concessions and ticket sales are the major economic foundations of the sporting business empires. The individual who identifies with a specific local or national team becomes not only a passive participant in the game, but is also encouraged to become a consumer of the related commodity market, thereby supporting the corporate system.

---

[41] The media have quoted various figures for these human commodity transactions. However, we should note that while purchasers are likely to release conservative statements on these matters, the media is prone to exaggeration.

I. Commercial Soccer and the Edmonton Drillers of the N.A.S.L.

The achievement of monopoly control and restriction against competition through the interlocking of professional franchises and corporations did not become established on the North American soccer scene until 1968 when the North American Soccer League was formed. The historical significance of the creation of this cartel[69] is that a merger between the National Professional Soccer League and the United Soccer Association once again eliminated competition between two similar professional organisations.[70] At its inception in 1968 the cartel had a total membership of seventeen franchises which was reduced to a mere five by 1969. By 1980 when the total membership of the cartel had increased to twenty four, Phil Woosnam, the league commissioner, optimistically announced that "soccer is the game of the '80's". However, one season later the cartel had been reduced to twenty-one members, and by the start of the 1982 season there were only fourteen surviving teams. Potential support failed to materialise and financial losses had been considerable.[71] Indeed, Clive Toye, the President of the Toronto Blizzard and a sport journalist believed that "there may be just 10 teams next year" (Quinn, Macleans, June 7, 1982).

Profit maximisation requires a surfeit of labour in order to depress real wages. The existence of fewer teams means a concentration of available skill in the potentially lucrative markets and larger dividends from the equalisation of the profit margin. Sandy Gordon presents a critical appraisal of the perceived reasons for the instability of the N.A.S.L. "from a particular Scotsman's conservative point of view" (1982: Introduction), and an account of the league's short history which "has had teams in 39 different cities across the United States and Canada and while some have lasted a long time, others have flickered and died after just one season" (ibid: 2).

---

[69] "A cartel is a group of firms (e.g. teams in a league) that are structurally linked to produce a product through agreement on rules, the end product, prices, advertising, hiring policies, revenue sharing, etc.. In effect, the result is that the owners have a monopoly on access to players, the protection of their geographical territory from competition in the same sport, control over local broadcasting rights and control over concession rights" (Loy et al., 1978: 263).

[70] Talks have been conducted betweeen the Major Indoor Soccer League (M.I.S.L.) and the N.A.S.L. in order to eliminate the present competition between these two organisations.

[71] See J. D. Reed (Sports Illustrated, Decemeber 1, 1980), for a detailed summary of the financial situation of the cartel and its individual franchises.

The essence of the problems of professional soccer in North America may be explained in terms of antagonistic confrontations that prevail between the traditionalists and the more progressively oriented groups who have the power to determine the future of the game. Gordon, as a professed traditionalist, vehemently argues that:

> Soccer-naive (ignorant) team owners, therefore, are left alone to determine whether the game will survive and more significantly whether their pursuit of private gain is also for the public good? (ibid: 5).

John Kerr, executive director of the N.A.S.L. Players' Association, appeared to concur with this line of argument when he pointed out the dichotomies that he felt to be the source of the problems:

> It is almost an even split with half the teams not wanting to play indoor soccer in the winter, and others like San Diego, not wanting to play outdoors (Quinn, Macleans, June 7, 1982).[72]

Of greater significance, however, is the conflict between the traditionalists who wish to abide by F.I.F.A. regulations and its prescribed philosophy that profit should be reinvested in the sport, and the market economists who feel that the structure of the game has to be radically altered in order to more readily sell the package to the North American public. With the N.A.S.L. under the threat of expulsion from world competition by the all-powerful governing body, the traditionalists have the upper hand at present; but for how long? The proponents of profit maximisation neither understand the traditions of this working-class sport nor do they wish to direct their efforts towards the North American working-class, and therefore the minority cultures. F.I.F.A. will not tolerate the kind of vulgar consumerism that is acceptable in other North American sports. Future conflict seems inevitable.

---

[72] The existence of indoor soccer is a particularly contentious issue. Traditionalists deplore it. Entrepreneurs and corporations pronounce faith in its future. They argue that because of its similarity to ice-hockey, North American fans can more readily identify with the game. The truth is a little more complicated. Indoor soccer can be tailor made, as are hockey, football and baseball, to the specific requirements of the media and, ultimately, corporate control.

Why do many owners within the N.A.S.L. membership want to make such fundamental alterations to the game of soccer?[35] The key concept to understand is *time*.

Al Strachan believed that the North American psychology might prevent widespread acceptance of soccer because the population is largely composed of people with a "limited attentional span". To put it another way, North Americans are "conditioned" to indicate a preference for "action in measured spurts". He added that the action in soccer may vary in intensity but, for the most part, it is continuous (Globe and Mail, August 10, 1982). Strachan did address the question of time, stating that This pyschological theory can be applied to an analysis of social structure.

If time can be controlled then profit maximisation can be achieved through management efficiency. The sporting term 'time-out' is an acceptable phrase in all manifestations of television programming, including the news. As Strachan pointed out:

> Television--one of the most dominant factors in our society--delivers the news in staccato bursts with little in-depth analysis. When it turns to entertainment, television turns up shows that are increasingly banal with minimal intellectual stimulation (Globe and Mail, August 10, 1982).

Media advertising is not only manipulative but it is also a financially complex business and "because audience power is produced, sold, purchased and consumed, it commands a price and is a commodity" (Smythe, 1981: 26).

The public, in the form of 'audience ratings' are also sold as commodities by the media to the oligarchic corporations. Multinational corporations control the North American economy and the media act as intermediaries between them and the less powerful corporations, such as the N.A.S.L. cartel. When we exchange capital for a commodity, in this case professional soccer, we are not only paying for the production of that commodity (wages, administration, travel etc.) but we are also paying surplus value for it. Owners of the product call it profit. When they are unable to extract surplus value from the production and marketing of soccer to the consumer, and as a consequence are therefore unable to produce and market an audience to the media, the owners remove their capital to 'more profitable investments'. In reality, the media is unable to market a commodity with 'poor audience ratings' to the advertising corporations. They will therefore dispense with that commodity (soccer) and produce a replacement.[74] The public supports every stage of this capitalist economy by being consumers of the commodities. Moreover, profit is not necessarily reinvested in a sport. Sport franchises are lucrative tax havens for the owners which are also heavily subsidised by the tax payer. Not only does the system exploit the wage earner, but as a result of ideological socialisation, it does so with our approbation.

---

[35] For a discussion on the Americanisation of soccer and the controversial 35 yard line ruling see, Hugh MacIlvanney (Sunday Times, March 3, 1980).

We are encouraged to respond to sporting "action in measured spurts" not solely for reasons of vicarious entertainment and identification with elitism, but primarily because the social system is peopled by individuals who believe in an ideology which espouses, justifies and perpetuates the morality of private accumulation. The contradictions inherent in this belief render it as antagonistic to the development of social processes.

It would seem evident that soccer, in its present form, is an unprofitable commodity on this corporate controlled continent.[75] Although Kerr might be optimistic about the future, "The league has to develop a philosophy and decide where it wants to take the game" (Quinn, Macleans, June 7, 1982), Gordon is resentful and pessimistic:

---

[74] The U.S. A.B.C.-T.V. media corporation cancelled its contract with the N.A.S.L. for the 1982 season. Audience rating statistics prompted the move as it became obvious that the media was unable to sell a guaranteed audience to the consumer corporations. For example, the guaranteed audience for the N.F.L. 1980-1 broadcasts were sold to the corporations with a return of $5.3 million to each franchise compared to a mere $27,000 return to each N.A.S.L. franchise for the 1979 season (Reed, Sports Illustrated, December 1, 1980). The 1982-3 broadcasts were sold, to the corporations with a return of $14 million to each N.F.L. franchise.

[75] European football is also under pressure to make changes due to increased costs and reduced consumption. The taken-for-granted conservative traditionalism in Britain, based on a more open competition among the one hundred and forty-two professional football clubs is proving to be somewhat archaic in an advanced capitalist country. Harry Soloman (Sunday Times, June 14, 1981) proposed changes along the American line.

> ...what will become of the traditional game of soccer? ...Intuitively we realise that the N.A.S.L. is recklessly and arrogantly abusing the traditional culture of world soccer to entertain the North American consumer (1982: 18).

He sees recent proposals to develop a new Canadian Professional Soccer League, for 1983, as "plausible and understandable" as more Canadians "can identify with soccer's culture because of a greater predominance of European and South American ethnic groups in Canada" (1982: 16).[76]

In 1976, the Toronto Metros-Croatia defeated the Minnesota Kicks by three goals to nil in the N.A.S.L. Championship Final. Apparently the league management were less than enamoured with the victory by a team with obvious ethnic affiliations against a team "who had the right image" (Reed, Sports Illustrated, September 6, 1976).

It is indisputable that ethnically-oriented teams have provided the platform for the development of North American soccer. In Canada, Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal have supported ethnic leagues for many years and it is hardly surprising, therefore, that professional soccer has been most successful in these cities. Bob Iarusci, a Canadian International who was born in Toronto , played football in "a good Italian league in the city" and his father, who was an Italian immigrant, took him to watch Toronto Roma at Victory Stadium where he "developed a love for the game". Quinn also quoted him as saying "A lot of us were Italian, and that formed a kind of bond" (Macleans, November 9, 1981).[77]

Those groups with the power to make decisions regarding the future of commercial soccer seem not to have considered the needs, interests and desires of the cultural groups that they are proposing to assimilate (Americanise or Canadianise) in their pursuit of capital accumulation. However, this is the subject matter of other chapters in this thesis.

The separation of ownership from control and an increased dependency on the technical expert, have been cited as reasons for the diversification of corporate management through the interlocking system.[78] However, Gruneau believed that this was not the case in Canadian sport (1978b: 232). Group cohesion and team interaction had been placed in the hands of the technical experts in the Edmonton Drillers soccer franchise but the business management of the club was closely monitored by the team owner and the franchise's contributions to the community were only an incidental factor in the drive for maximum profitability.

---

[76] This final point is debatable in historical terms. However, since 1950, Canada has encouraged immigration and cultural diversity more vigorously than has the U.S.A.

[77] Iarusci has been a professional player in the National Soccer League, with Toronto Metros-Croatia, New York Cosmos (twice), the Washington Diplomats and more recently he is back in Toronto with the Blizzard.

Peter Pocklington purchased the franchise in 1979 from the previous owners of 'The Oakland Stompers' and transported the team and its coach to Edmonton in the belief that the game could be marketed to a population which has been categorised as personifying North American addiction to consumer sport. Furthermore, there was also an assumption that 'soccer-knowledgable immigrants' would identify with the sport and provide the franchise with heterogeneous ethnic support. Pocklington has been lauded as 'a self-made man' due to his myriad business interests and as Edmonton's professional 'sport provider' as he also owns the lucrative Edmonton Oilers Hockey franchise and the Edmonton Trappers Baseball franchise.

Despite winning the indoor championship, the Edmonton Drillers, coached successively by three Europeans,[79] were unable to attract crowds in sufficient numbers either during the hockey-influenced winter (indoor) season or during the short summer (outdoor) season. The internal contradictions of the franchise and the persistent conflicts between the management of the team and the antagonistic media were documented in the popular press. The players, alienated from their labour and powerless in terms of having access to decision making processes, were psychologically affected and as a consequence their motivation to succeed disintegrated.[80] The public, admonished by the owner for their lack of interest and eventually threatened by him,[11] reacted by refusing to support and finance a deteriorating team that they were unable to identify with.[12] This growing reactionary process was well-fueled by an often beligerent and largely uninformed media. Indeed, one Edmonton journalist admitted to a University of Alberta sociology of sport class in 1980 that he was assigned the job of reporting on the Edmonton Drillers' organisation, despite his admission that he knew nothing about the game of soccer. He was advised to go and read a book about it.[13] He wrote, or rewrote, the soccer column until the most recent coach, an Englishman, refused to acknowledge him.

---

[78] In reality, ownership and control have not been separated. Managers work at the behest of, or on behalf of the owners. The perception of management control overlooks the fact that the character of an enterprise is determined by the form of ownership, not by the form of the management.

[79] Sandy Gordon (1982) explains the preponderance of non-North American coaches in the N.A.S.L.

[80] The alienation of the worker is based upon the increasing productive power of labour under capitalism and the lack of control which the worker is able to exert over the object (entertainment) which he produces (Giddens, 1981: 11).

The management has made various and repeated attempts to stimulate ethnic affiliation, most importantly by coopting ethno-cultural members into the organisation as administrators and as players. The favoured cultures, English, Scottish, German and Italian have also been the most overt participants and the most enthusiastic proponents of the sport in Edmonton. For example, Joe Petrone, an Italian-Canadian teacher and community leader, became the Drillers' general manager in 1981. He based his optimism for the future of the troubled franchise on the assumption that the 'harder sell', prevalent in other North American sports, would attract the paying customer. Petrone saw it as a personal challenge and a mission, as reported by Terry Jones:

> It's a critical year, damn right it is. I'm in a position to make or break it for Edmonton soccer. It's all on my shoulders. And I don't intend to break it (Edmonton Journal, March 28, 1981).

Petrone, in a similar manner to his Scottish predecessor, Graham Leggat, was soon to part company with the owner when it became obvious that he had failed to make the franchise profitable.

Several Ital.-Canadian players have been associated with the Drillers, most notably John Baretta, Ross Ongaro and Pasquale DeLuca. According to Allen

---

[11] The owner stated that he would 'fold' the team in mid-season if more people did not turn out and pay to support his venture.

[12] Traditionally, soccer crowds have been a part of the game in Europe. The tightly packed terraces of partisan supporters identify with the 'home' team or the 'away' team. Chanting, singing and occasional violent acts are all contextual occurrences for such events. North American consumerism and plush 'seating-only' stadia have distanced the fan from the player to such an extent that it has rendered the game almost meaningless by traditional standards.

[13] The author was a participant in this class from January to April, 1980.

Panzeri, Baretta was 'cut' at the beginning of the 1982 season in a disiplinary move because he displayed "an unprofessional attitude which will not be accepted by the Edmonton Drillers" (Edmonton Journal, June 22, 1982). Perhaps the recent acquisition of two English goalkeepers precipitated his "unprofessional attitude". Ongaro resigned from his occupation as 'benchwarmer' in sympathy with his friend's dismissal. Deluca, who had impressed many observers in his first professional season, was traded to Toronto Blizzard in a 'deal' over which he had no control. He thought that he would be unable to survive away from home if he was to receive the same wage that he had been paid in Edmonton.

As it became apparent that the demise of the franchise was inevitable, even imminent, the conflict increased dramatically. Pocklington threatened to 'fold' the franchise after failing to convince the players that they should accept a fifty percent pay cut. Hal Quinn made the following remarks in a national magazine:

> In a desperate conference call Pocklington's colleagues convinced him to hang on at least until the end of the season (mention of the league's $250,000 fine for each game forfeited aided materially in the deliberation), which will only compound the $10 million he says he has lost on the team (Macleans, June 7, 1982).

Pocklington also increased the price of the Edmonton Oilers' tickets in order to partially recoup his declared deficit from the Drillers' franchise; he attempted to encourage each player to sell five hundred season tickets and then finally he offered the franchise and all its commodities to any puchaser in exchange for *one dollar*.

In August 1982 Allen Panzeri, the soccer reporter for the Edmonton Journal, was ostracised by the Drillers' management for his critical comments about the organisation. Abusive statements emanated from both camps. For example, the Drillers' general manager John Colbert, had reportedly called Panzeri "a snivelling little worm". Barry Westgate, in his defence of Panzeri, retorted: "And maybe *we* of Journal Sports ought to join the bidding, sign Dave Semenko and get a little respect out there" (Edmonton Journal, July 16, 1982).[14]

---

[14] Dave Semenko, the Edmonton Oilers' "policeman" was involved in a contract dispute with the hockey franchise management at this time. It would appear that

On Thursday August 19, 1982, Pocklington announced that Sonny Van Arnem, a Detroit businessman, had signed a thirty day option contract to purchase the Edmonton Drillers franchise and relocate it in Detroit. Panzeri reported that a 50,000 dollar down payment was received and the agreed total price would be 1.25 million dollars (Edmonton Journal, August 20, 1982). However, the deal was never completed even though the price had been renegotiated at 500,000 American dollars. Most of the players were sold to other clubs and the franchise was officially 'folded' on October 13, 1982. Commenting on the 13 million dollars he claims to have lost during the last four years, Pocklington made the following contradictory statement:

> It's not a profitable venture. I believe some day it will be. I'm not down on the game. But in these tough times, its not going anywhere. There's no future in it (Cowley, Edmonton Journal, October 15, 1982).

J. Conclusion

The answer to soccer's future in North America, according to Gordon, lies in the proliferation of the amateur game. While noting that professionalism will suffer initially, due to the consumer orientation of sport, he feels that a combination of public ownership, regionalism, player development programmes, a severe restriction of all non-North American players and a deliberate policy of Canadianisation "would significantly personalise and humanise a profession in which individual spontaneity and creativity is increasingly forfeited for profit margins" (ibid: 15). Herein lies one of the major contradictions of capitalism for as sport becomes increasingly more social in its production, private appropriation continues to dictate its progress based on the premise of maximum profitability. It is also apparent that financial considerations and nationalism often warrant more attention than human needs within state controlled sport and 'amateur' governing bodies.

---

[11](cont'd)the achievement of respect through violence is still considered by some to be a legitimate course of action.

The debate over the desirability of encouraging or discouraging the continuation of ethnic affiliations in soccer is an historically contentious issue. Generally, those who argue for its discouragement take Anglo-conformity as non-problematic and set their goals on developing the most efficient delivery system that they deem appropriate to achieve international recognition. Therefore, Americanisation or Canadianisation become desirable models and ethnicity is often viewed as a retarding factor in the pursuit of efficiency, and ultimately, assimilation. Paradoxically, it has been recognised that ethnic solidarity can provide the level of identification with team objectives, and the intensity of commitment which is needed to achieve them, that the soccer progressivists desire so passionately, yet seem unable to attain through programmes of assimilation.[35]

---

[35] See, Bruce Thomas (1973: 55-7) for a discussion on soccer rivalries and Canadianisation.

VI. THE ITAL.-CANADIAN SOCCER TEAM

A. Introduction

This chapter is an analysis of the socialisation processes which are brought to bear on the individual who is both a member of an ethnic minority community within a dominant Anglo-American society, and a member of a soccer team which is based on a shared ethnic affiliation.

The insights and information gleaned from a periodic, two-year participant observation study, specifically with the acquiescence of the senior Ital.-Canadian soccer team, provided the author with a valuable source of *lived experiences*. Furthermore, *immersion in the data* during this extended period of time provoked many questions which necessitated the reformulation and integration of assumptions at both the macrotheoretical and the microtheoretical levels.

The data gathered in field notes and from informal discussions with the coach, the manager and the players were collected while attending practice sessions, competitive games and social gatherings in, and around, the Bar Italia. These were supplemented with data from interviews with a community social worker, an administrator for adult education, other coaches and players and many people who proffered information and/or opinions on the subject of the Italian community and/or the Ital.-Canadian soccer team. As will become apparent to the reader, this participant observation study is predominantly an analysis of a male, working-class sport.

My interpretations are integrated with the recorded data, where possible, and the Chapter is divided into six further sections. The second section is an explanation of the Ital.-Canadian successes over the years. An account of the relationship between sporting competition and cultural conflict is presented in the third section. Ital.-Canadian perceptions of the Edmonton District Soccer Association, the University, the Drillers and the media are detailed in the fourth section. The fifth and sixth sections are a consideration of the liberal and conservative values, which appeared to be accepted by the players, and their interconnections with societal and community socialisation processes. The final section draws conclusions and relates them to other chapters in this thesis.

B. Team Success

The Ital.-Canadians have undoubtedly been very successful since they joined the Edmonton District Soccer Association (E.D.S.A.) for the 1962 outdoor season and the 1978-79 indoor season. The team was leading the first division of the indoor league when this study was initiated. It was noted that:

> The team is striving to play some of the youngsters in their system and the combination with experienced players is paying off (Edmonton Soccer Express, February, 1981).

Towards the end of the study, Allen Panzeri reported that:

> The Ital-Canadians not only keep winning the Edmonton indoor senior soccer championship, but they also keep getting stronger. Since they joined the league--which opens its 1982-83 season Sunday afternoon at the Kinsmen Field House--four years ago, the Ital-Canadians have won the league championship three times, missing only in their second season. And this year they have added two players from the North American Soccer League: striker Darren Poole, who was with the Edmonton Drillers until they folded; and defender Pasquale DeLuca, who recently signed a two year contract with the Toronto Blizzard (Edmonton Journal, November 12, 1982).

In this section I have attempted to explain the reasons for these successes.

Nick, an autocratic and fiercely proud coach, informed me that the team was not a community team but a club which received moral and financial support (estimated to be 10,000 dollars for 1982) from members of the community.[16] Phil, a senior player, was of the opinion that the community in general showed little interest in the fortunes of the club. Moreover, it was only a soccer club and not attached to any of the community social clubs such as the Calabria Club, the Dante Alighieri Society, the Italian Ski Club, the Roma Club, the Veneto Club or the Villa Vesuvius Club.[17]

Many first generation immigrants still lived in the area to the west of Clarke Stadium, a neighbourhood which has traditionally served as a focal point and a base for immigrants from the Ukraine, Italy and Portugal as well as for Native Indians. Most of the team members, at the time of the study, were sons of Italian emigrants and had played together for school teams (Sacred Heart and St. Joseph's Catholic Schools) and for community teams. This probably reinforced a more general group maturation process which has provided a basis on which to build team cohesion, coaching continuity and individual identification with common goals which are prerequisites for skill improvement and group success. Many of the teachers at these two schools, and at other schools attended by Italian-Canadian pupils, were of Italian descent. Young players were encouraged to attend senior practices and were drafted into the competitive games as their skill developed and their confidence grew. On one occasion Nick explained to me how he had found one young player "sitting on the bench" for a junior team, realised the boy's potential, and included him in the senior squad of players. Nervous and lacking skill at first, he developed into a competent player and an integral member of the organisation. Nick was often critical of clubs which did not have youth policies and of managers of youth teams who were not loyal to the community.

---

[16] Francesco Spinelli, a local businessman, was the founder and major sponsor of the club.

[17] Regionalism, a feature of Italian social relationships since the days of City States, has apparently been maintained, to some degree, through some of these clubs.

Recruitment, then, was ostensibly an internal community process. A social worker informed me of a parents' survey which indicated that the area supported a relatively stable population in terms of number of years of residence and their plans for the future. He estimated that 25 percent of the community club's membership was of Italian ethnicity, that these members usually maintained close relationships within their own group and that, although they could all speak Italian, they preferred to converse in English. He believed that these relationships were perpetuated through the juvenile soccer leagues and that few 'outsiders' appeared to play for these teams, perhaps as a result of formal or informal pressure from the coach, peers and/or family. An example of this unity was illustrated by the failure of one Italian adult who had attempted to form a community based team which was not representative of any specific ethnic group. He had little success in recruiting young Italian-Canadians. When asked about the ethnic unity of the Ital.-Canadian teams, the social worker thought it highly unlikely that there would be regulations which excluded non-Italian players but neither did he believe that active recruiting of non-Italian players was much in evidence.

Two players who were not of Italian ethnicity had played for the Ital.-Canadians for a number of years. Paul, who was of Hungarian descent, had played with teams from the various age groups and was very much a part of the organisation. John, who was of English descent, was a particularly strong and determined player. At the beginning of the 1982 outdoor season he was approached to play for North West United, a team with high aspirations and no specific ethnic affiliation. He told me that he had considered the offer, especially as he thought he had been poorly treated by Nick during the previous indoor season. However, he believed that he made a valuable contribution to the team as a stabilising influence on the players when they became frustrated. "You know how emotional the Italians can be," he concluded.

Two University players were recruited for the 1981-82 indoor season, neither of whom were of Italian descent. Nick explained that he needed "a big, strong centre forward who could score goals and another good goalkeeper". The two were good friends and appeared to be well accepted. Although they told me that they would probably stay with the Ital.-Canadians for the summer as well, neither, in fact, did so. During the summer the team was usually strengthened by returning college players on scholarships in the United States. In 1982 the team was also strengthened by the return of a player from the National Olympic squad in Vancouver and the resigning of a leading scorer from another team in the city, both of whom were of Italian ethnicity. The sole new recruit was a Belgian who spoke Italian.

During the course of my observations, I counted six players, several of whom were of Italian ethnicity, each of whom attended no more than two training sessions. One of them, when asked by a player if he was Italian, hesitatingly replied, "Not really". None of them appeared to be particularly well accepted nor were any of them particularly skilful. Playing ability was obviously necessary for *status passage*[18] into the ranks of the Ital.-Canadians and Italian ethnicity aided in the process of social acceptance.

Nick and Tony (the manager of the team and of the Bar Italia) agreed that the standard of the league had deteriorated in recent years since the retirement of the first generation of immigrant players. The team relied upon the development of the second generation (partly because of the government's immigration policies) and the recruitment of skilful 'outsiders' (Poole being the latest). Phil was the only remaining player who was born in Italy and, at 28, he had made repeated statements about retirement. In his opinion, the younger players were, regretably, not as dedicated to the team as were the players of his generation. He had been a first team player since he was 16 years old.

Nationalistic identification seems to have been one reason for the perennial success of the Ital.-Canadians. Their club name, the identical Italian blue and white uniform Nostri Azzuri (Our Blue) and the obvious pride which they displayed in the manner of their playing would convince even a casual observer of the unity of the team. However, this was not a team built on rigid discipline to the extent that individual spontaneity was displaced by clinical efficiency. The practices usually began late and were conducted in a convivial and unstructured manner. Nick thought of himself as a coach, not as a trainer, yet he placed few physical demands on the players. A sense of humour and an ability to rebut taunting jibes and verbal abuse from team mates appeared to increase one's esteem within the group as well as bolster the development of team cohesion.

When I first attended a practice session in March 1981, I was disconcerted to find that Franco was not present in the gymnasium.[19] My enquiry about him was answered by his close friend Phil. "Who? Travolta? He will probably be combing his hair in the changing room." Towards the end of the same practice Paul offered to exhibit his skills 'in the nets'. Much to the amusement of his team mates, he imitated the intense preparation and the excessive gambol of John Baretta, then an Edmonton Driller's goalkeeper who had previously played for the Ital.-Canadians. A skilful ploy, *the nutmeg*, was repeatedly utilised during the practice games, as both a physical and pyschological assault on an opponent. As the ball was adeptly pushed between the defender's legs, mocking laughter accompanied the cries of "**nutmeg**". Nick often joined in the games and his mood, usually bouyant and expansive, set the tone for the evening, even though the competition between the four-a-side teams could be keen.

---

[18] This concept among many others, forms the basis of an interesting phenomenological study on recruitment to, and involuntary disengagement from competitive school sport (Gilroy, 1982).

[19] Franco was the 'key informant' for this study. See the appendix for a more detailed explanation of his role.

On one occasion, when I was designated "official timekeeper" for game rotations, Paul strolled past me at the beginning of one of his shifts. "Got a new job, eh?" he enquired. "Promotion", I jokingly retorted. On an another evening, as the "official referee", I disallowed a goal which Nick's team had claimed. My judgement was that the ball had arrived in the net via a hole in its side. Nick strode across and remonstrated with me, "Why can't you lie a little?", before indicating that it was merely a performance.

Nick often became exasperated when his four-a-side team lost and he had to retire. Paul, who rarely missed such opportunities, mimicked Nick's departure following a particularly frustrating defeat, much to the delight of the other players.[90] Nick unhesitatingly took up the challenge and demonstrated Paul's "tricky footwork" with the ball. His exaggerated movements, which intimated that Paul was effeminate, received encouragement from an appreciative audience. This session was concluded with a brief ten-a-side game in a hopelessly overcrowded gymnasium. The competition was Nick's idea and was of limited value for the reinforcement of soccer skills. However, as the losers had to buy the coffee for the winners at the Bar Italia, it did serve to reinforce group morale.

---

[90] These competitive games were organised in one of two ways. Generally a team was permitted to accept the challenge of a fresh team, a single goal signalling the end of each game. This could be a frustrating experience if a player found himself on a weak team or on one which conceded a goal soon after the commencement of a game. At other times rotation was controlled strictly by the clock.

This general mode of behaviour would not be permissible in a team of transient soccer players as the level of familiarity required to legitimate such ridicule without malice could not be achieved. Clearly, team socialisation is a process which is nurtured through time, and which, when sustained by identification with an ethnos and by group socialisation apart from the actual playing of the game, provides a platform for team success.

C. Multiculturalism and Soccer: Friendly Competition or Cultural Conflict?

Most of the games that I observed were played in a competitive spirit and passed without incident apart from the usual round of fouls, swearing and arguing which were seen as cathartic releases and were an accepted part of the game. Many of the Ital.-Canadian players were friendly with players from other teams whom they were often but temporarily opposed to. Moreover, many of the Ital.-Canadians have played with the leading players from other teams on representative and university teams and in doing so have displayed a new group unity and loyality in their readiness to be temporarily opposed to rival teams from other geographic regions and other universities. A proportion of the teams in Edmonton were organised according to ethnic grouping, many were not. However, intense competition can create the conditions for conflict and, when fueled by poor and inconsistent officiating and/or cultural stereotyping and racism, conflict can erupt.

As mentioned in the previous section on team success, ethnic conciousness was evident in the behaviour of the Ital.-Canadians. Nick once told me that it was his right to believe in tradition and heritage and that he was proud of being Italian with an Italian name.

> Why should we change our names to get on? Why should we conform to English and English ways of life? Look at Caboto and many other leaders in this town, good businessmen who have given to their communities, good Italians. We should be proud of our past!

Nick learned to play soccer in a small, southern Italian town where he had been coached to be "tricky" and taught all the 'professional fouls'. He had not been a great player but he "hustled" and was always around to score goals.

Nick often became quite agitated when he thought of other teams who deliberately "go out to get the champions". When questioned about ethnic rivalries he expressed the opinion that it was not a feature of the E.D.S.A., although some teams were organised along ethnic lines. He was, however, vehemently opposed to the antagonism that he felt had developed between his team and the Edmonton Scottish team who played, he reasoned in a typically Scottish manner-- physically hard and sometimes unfairly--while deliberately intimidating his younger players and even intentionally injuring them. His players had no desire to retaliate as they saw no need for physical play. The community social worker knew the Edmonton Scottish players quite well as they regularly rented the club gymnasium for practices. He felt that they were "tight" and that all the players were Scottish. They often mentioned to him how proud they were to win a league championship over the Ital.-Canadians.

In my opinion, several teams besides the Ital.-Canadians and Edmonton Scottish, displayed relatively high levels of ethnic consciousness. Chile, for instance was usually supported by a comparatively large and vocal group of males and females of all ages, who were extremely partisan. They were generally good humoured until they disagreed with a referee's decision, in which case some of the men could become quite volatile. One of the games that I observed between Chile and the Ital.-Canadians was played without any major incidents or signs of ethnic conflict and, as is customary, the players shook hands with each other on the way to the changing-room after the game.

During another game between these two teams the referee, who did not appear to be very confident in carrying out his duties, failed to notice some late tackling by the Chileans. These incidents served to infuriate Nick and anger the players. The referee awarded a penalty against the Chileans for an infringement which was not apparent to most of the players nor the spectators. Unfortunately, the linesman seemed to disagree with the referee and the players began to jostle one another in the confusion. Franco was kicked and, as the ball was kicked away from the penalty spot, he retaliated and fists were raised. Spectators arrived on the scene, scuffles ensued and one Chilean supporter, brandishing a steel bar, made for Franco. Fortunately, someone managed to restrain him.[91] Most people were trying to prevent the fighting. Order was eventually restored and the game restarted with the penalty but the referee curtailed it soon afterwards. Nick was furious with him for having deprived his team of playing time, for which they paid heavily, and for his lack of control. Interestingly, several of the players offered their apologies to their opponents as they left the field.

Another example of inconsistent refereeing coinciding with a case of cultural conflict was during the opening game of the 'Mini-World Cup' in March, 1981. This competition was organised in the manner of its namesake with national flags, military style drills, guest speakers, celebrities and the financial sponsors, Labatt Brewing Company, well to the fore. The previous winners, England, opened the tournament against Trinidad and Tobago, and might well have been beaten by them but for unaccountably biased refereeing from the Scottish official. He disallowed what appeared to be a legitimate goal and generally frustrated the Trinidad and Tobago players, eventually dismissing one of them for dissent. This final episode culminated in the entire team refusing to continue the game. England, therefore proceeded to the next round by default. The officiating was notably stricter and more efficient in the later rounds while the incidents of dissent and hostility were reduced. Italy was defeated by a youthful Canadian team in the final game. However, the tournament, supposedly organised to display Canada's multicultural heritage, served more to encourage divergent, nationalistic fervour among players and spectators alike.

Cultural stereotyping is prevalent in soccer players' assessments of national styles. As previously alluded to and even by their own admission, Italians have a tendency to be too emotional and ethnocentric. Whether these stereotypes are merely perceived or accurate is not of great importance nor are they inherently destructive, but they can develop into prejudicial attitudes and be a catalyst for discriminatory behaviour.[92] Competitive sport is fertile ground for such divisive conduct.

---

[91] He later apologised to Franco, explaining that he had been drinking.

[92] See Chapter VII for a more detailed discussion of cultural stereotyping.

Examples of Nick's stereotyping of Scottish players and other national styles have already been mentioned. One evening in the Bar Italia he was explaining to me how Paolo, the new trainer, would run three practices a week as soon as the snow began to melt.[93] Paolo, a Uruguayan who spoke Spanish, Italian and English, had been "a class player in his day" and "typically South American, skilful but temperamental and a good faller in the box". On another occasion Nick asked whether I had noticed his tactical changes during the previous game and added that, "You have to change the pace of the game, slow it down, control it like the Brazilians...frustrate the opposition".

Cultural stereotyping is related to racism. Statements which were racially inspired and sometimes malicious, were often passed off as a joke. For example, following a game which, in my judgement, had been fairly well controlled by a black referee, Franco made disparaging remarks about his official conduct, related his skin colour to his behaviour and concluded that "he shouldn't have been allowed in the country". One practice started late because the players had to remove the gymnastic mats which the previous users, a Native Indian group, had left lying on the floor. "There were some dirty animals in here before us," Franco remarked to the other players. During another practice Nick decided to investigate the source of a smell of smoke, stating, "I bet it's those damned Indians trying to burn us out. An Italian was the first in Canada and now they are getting their revenge, trying to burn us out."

An example of the interrelationships of cultural stereotyping, racism and sporting aggression was witnessed during a semi-final game of a cup competition between Olympic, a team of no specific ethnic affiliation, and the Ital.-Canadians. The first half of the game was noteworthy for fast and fluid play, despite several dubious refereeing decisions. As the intensity of the competition started to increase, the referee began to lose control. One Olympic defender, whom I judged to be deliberately trying to antagonise the opposition, eventually clashed with Franco, threw the ball at him and (as I was later informed) called him a "wop".[94]

---

[93] This is one of several of Nick's ideas which never came to fruition.

[94] I noted in Chapter IV that clandestine emigration from Italy was rife at the

Franco immediately retaliated in a violent manner and both were subsequently ejected from the game. The vendetta very nearly continued off the field but for the intervention of Nick and another player. John later explained the events leading up to and including the incident, concluding with a casual gesture and a rhetorical question, "You know Franco?" I would speculate that the Olympic player had applied the same stereotype, perceived or actual, to regulate his own playing behaviour and affect the 'Italian' playing behaviour.

Sex role stereotyping is a further phenomenon which has divisive consequences. Much of what I observed during the course of the study could be referred to, as a process of 'male-bonding'. Women never attended practices as active or passive participants, few were ever in the Bar Italia and only occasionally did a girlfriend attend a competitive game. Nick thought it wrong that the women's soccer league should have preference over the juvenile league for playing time in the Kinsmen Fieldhouse. He once announced that he had a wife and kids at home but that he gave up much of his free time to coach the team and organise their affairs. Phil was not married although there were "plenty of girls around" but no one he wanted to marry. He intimated that he was growing weary of "the constant chase" and that he would probably "settle down" fairly soon, although he might miss "the high life". Swearing, 'being tough', the constant vying for recognition in the male hierarchy and viewing women in traditional roles are all part of this process of male-bonding in competitive sport.[95]

---

[94](cont'd)end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. I was informed by a young Italian-Canadian that his uncle, who had been a transient worker in the 1950's, believed that the origin of the term 'wop' dated back to this period and was merely an abbreviation of the official terminology 'without papers'.

[95] In her forthcoming doctoral dissertation, Bray (1983) relates class and patriarchy in Canada to a discussion of male-bonding in sport. She makes the point that male-bonding in such institutions as sport helps to constitute male ranking systems. These ranking systems, such as class hierarchies are as important as male dominance over women in the development and perpetuation of patriarchy.

D. Perception of the E.D.S.A., The University, The Drillers and the Media.

I did not hear any statements of a positive nature, made by people within the Ital.-Canadian team, about the administration of the league by the E.D.S.A.. However, it is important to note that not all the players passed an opinion on the subject and that Nick, as the official spokesman of the team, may well have influenced other people's views. It was admitted that the coordination of the league and its officials was a difficult task but it was felt that the Ital.-Canadian expenditure justified their higher expectations. It was explained that too many games were postponed and rearranged at short notice, although it was agreed that the municipal authority was partly to blame because of their inadequate provision of facilities.

Representative selection and coaching were also perceived to be major problems; an overrepresentation of Scottish and English ethnicity in the decision-making positions and too many inexperienced coaches--"book learned and trainers"--rather than knowledgeable tacticians following "game plans". The standard of refereeing was seen to be particularly troublesome, several examples having been mentioned already. Nick was extremely capricious during games. On one occasion he was reported and fined fifty dollars for having used abusive language to a linesman. Nick was of the impression that he had been victimised, especially as the recent aggression during the Chilean game had not been reported to the league. He said that he would not pay the fine and that he did not think that he would be further admonished.

Those Ital.-Canadians who had played for the Golden Bears appeared to be quite proud, as elite athletes of Italian descent, to represent the University. However, the dual pressure of having to state their allegiance to either the University or the Ital.-Canadians, seemed to cause some personal conflict. Unfortunately, it was extremely difficult to play for both teams because of the short season, congested timetable and the competing philosophies of the decision makers of both organisations. Moreover, representing the varsity soccer team is clearly not afforded the same status as is playing varsity football, hockey or basketball.

The Drillers and the Ital.-Canadians maintained close, if not always affable links. Chapter V analysed the structural linkage in more detail while in this section I have attempted to record individual and group perception of the Drillers' organisation. During soccer practices it was not unusual for the names of professional soccer players to be used to explicate a style of play. For example, Paul once explained to me how he played "like Nogly at the back" in keeping the opposition's forwards at bay. Haaskivi's "tricky footwork" was also frequently emulated. However, these examples were far outweighed by examples of cross fertilisation from hockey--Gretzky for deft goal scoring, Le Fleur for graceful moves and Semenko for aggressive tackling. These observations indicate how some individuals identify with hockey, even when they are playing a different game.

Timo Liekoski (the Driller's coach at the beginning of the study) was considered to be a relatively knowledgeable coach and a fair person. However, he showed greater concern for his senior players whilst tending to neglect his junior players, some of whom were Ital.-Canadians. One player was very bitter about his short apprenticeship with the Drillers. He had a low opinion of Liekoski and his handling of the team. In response to a question about watching the professional game, he vehemently replied that he was "having nothing to do with that lot".

Liekoski's successor, Roger Thompson, was known to the Ital.-Canadians as he had coached junior soccer in Edmonton in 1977. Nick liked his forthright and tough approach, his knowledgeable coaching and his handling of the young players whom he wished to develop. Roger's coaching style was, of course, much more akin to Nick's philosophy than Timo's had been.

Questions about Peter Pocklington were usually met with indifference or criticism. Initially his popularity was at a premium when he purchased the Oakland franchise but he clearly made himself increasingly unpopular through his own statements and actions, as detailed in Chapter V. Tony, who was more reserved and reasonable in his arguments than Nick, explained how people objected to the "pushy way the Drillers tried to sell their season tickets" through the mail, over the telephone and in the Bar Italia.

> There are more than enough seats [in Commonwealth Stadium]...why buy season tickets? Produce the goods on the field, provide the players and good opposition and we will come...but don't push us.

This short-lived business enterprise is an illustration of how the people can initially be encouraged, or manipulated, into supporting ventures based on the principal of capital accumulation. Moreover, it also indicates that the people can not be pushed, or coerced, into behaviour which is eventually perceived to be contradictory to their best interests. Such overt exploitation, therefore, may be an example of a potential role for sport in the transformation of society.

The Edmonton media appeared to be fairly well accepted by the Ital.-Canadians.[96] They received very little criticism apart from the fact that the reporters and commentators lacked more than a rudimentary understanding of the game. Indeed Nick was proud of the fact that Cam Cole used to telephone him to discuss the Drillers' game before committing his reports to print. The only exception to these general observations was Nick's criticism of the local soccer paper, the Edmonton Express, which he saw as being controlled by Scottish influences. This broad, or unquestioned, acceptance of the perceived role of the media would appear to substantiate the theory that the communications industries are significant socialising agents in western society.

E. Liberal Values

It was possible to discern the liberal values of competitive individualism, the desire for social mobility and private accumulation of capital in my observations of, and discussions with, the Ital.-Canadians. These values were also manifest in the transformation of the extended family into the nuclear family and into social relationships which transcend the nuclear family.

The inclination to better one's self was typified by those players of Italian ethnicity who had decided to shed what they saw as a restrictive mantle and refused to be connected with the Ital.-Canadians. Competitive individualism is closely related to ambition and, in an Anglo-Canadian controlled society and an Anglo-Canadian controlled sport, acculturation or assimilation may be necessary in order to achieve personal goals. A perceived stigma of playing for a cohesive ethnic team may not be conducive to being selected for representative honours.

---

[96] See Chapter VII for a more detailed account of this relationship.

The displaying of strong masculine traits such as physical prowess, aggression and dominance are the basis of achieving status within the team hierarchy. Recruitment and acceptance into the team have already been discussed and could equally be applied to a discussion of status hierarchy. The attainment of a position on an American college team, traditionally in Illinois, on a soccer scholarship also enhances one's status within the team. Franco and Phil had enjoyed being on scholarships at a college near San Diego but family ties and lack of funds had contributed to their decision to return after only one year. Franco, in particular, was very interested in pursuing social mobility through a soccer career. He told me that he had been approached by agents from professional franchises. On one occasion he was in extremely high spirits as he had just received a letter from the management of the Toronto Blizzard inviting him to join them for a trial period. The desire for social mobility was also indicated by the pursuit of material accumulation. Education is often seen as the key to occupational advancement. The occupation of teaching has proven to be an area of limited social mobility for Italian-Canadians. While some of the players had attended university, not all of them had been awarded degrees. Some of the players had returned to the traditional Italian occupations in the construction and service industries or had joined a family business. Conspicuous consumption, according to the community social worker, was revealed by the way many young, male Italian-Canadians dressed and drove around in fast cars.

When Phil and I discussed his recovery from a recent ankle operation, he explained that he felt good about his progress as he had played raquetball that afternoon at the fitness club where he was a member. When I queried him about his job he smiled and replied that he never worked during the winter but worked hard during the summer driving a truck for a concrete firm which kept him very busy. The money that he was able to accumulate from his occupation was supplemented by unemployment benefits and by the rent that he collected from a house that he owned. No doubt the fact that he lived in an apartment in his parents' house contributed to his agreeable lifestyle, which included frequent skiing vacations, sometimes with the Italian Ski Club.

Although ethnic Italian affiliation was denoted, to some extent, by residential clustering in the area to the west of Clarke Stadium, several sources confirmed that many people of Italian descent inhabited other locations. The districts in the north east of the city, where many children of Italian parentage attended Cardinal Leger, St. Cecilia and Archbishop O'Leary Catholic Schools, was a prime example. Franco thought that he would like to buy a new house in a developing area near a shopping centre and added that many people were prepared to move away from the city centre location in their desire to own and/or build property.

These data demonstrate an acceptance of the norms of competitive individualism and the penchant for social mobility through accumulation, which are prevalent features of Albertan society. The movement towards materialistic values is also related to the transformation of the nuclear family from the extended family into new social relationships which transcend traditional family units. The dissipation of ethnic culture and the perceived eradication of class culture are indications of the formation of a mass culture, or consumer society, as already alluded to in previous chapters. This phenomenon, as a manifestation of a specific mode of production, is directly related to the distribution of commodities and the aspiration for social status.

F. Conservative Values

The Ital.-Canadian players showed deference to authority and behaved in a manner which was usually indicative of an acceptance of the status quo. The transmission and inculcation of these values was principally the domain of the family and the coach.

The Family and the Community

Extended family ties form the basis of Italian community socialisation. Aging relatives retained a degree of respect in family affairs, no longer generally noted in the larger society, and very often exerted considerable influence within the home. Patriarchal relationships were also perpetuated through the family and endogamy was preferred. A female teacher at one of the schools where there was a high enrolment of Italian Canadian students also confirmed that strong family ties were maintained and that many girls believed that they would marry within the ethnic group. These findings were supported by Franco as he explained that young people were generally expected to remain at home until they married. John, the Anglo-Canadian, was the only married player and the only player who did not reside in the family home. When I questioned Phil about the reasons for this obvious correlation he informed me that it was quite normal for players to retire when they married as playing soccer, training and travelling took too much time away from the development of family relationships.

Italian was the language of communication in many homes, although it was generally accepted that English was a prerequisite for education and social mobility. One young Italian-Canadian (who was not a soccer player) pointed out that attempts to acculturate were most strongly made in the homes of people from northern Italy. The majority of the Edmonton immigrants had lived in southern Italy, were working-class and poorly educated. The second generation, however, were enculturated through the school system, although Italian was taught as an option in some schools. An adult educator in the Catholic School Boards Administration was of the opinion that parental pressure rather than individual preference largely dictated the enrolment in these classes. The Dante Alighieri Society also organised a private school at the weekend in which Italian was taught. Although I heard only short Italian phrases used, Franco confirmed that all the players could speak the language. The young Italian-Canadian mentioned earlier, construed that those people who could not speak Italian fluently would at least "have it in their ear".

As already noted, many families had moved to areas in the north east of the city, a migration which may have affected the extended family ties. However, family gatherings were well attended and visits to the business area around 95 St-101 St were frequent. Young men also socialised in a small cafe, in the pool halls and on the sidewalks, while older men congregated in the Bar Italia where many played cards and gambled. Money was usually handed over in the public parks where the transactions were less likely to attract attention from the social control agencies. Home wine making was extremely pervasive. In 1969 Spada noted that

> Perhaps one of the most hard won victories, after many petitions, was the right to make their own wine for family consumption. Ten years ago it was a crime, but at last the provincial government [of Alberta] gave in to a national custom (1969: 353).

Cultural socialisation was also reinforced by the limited use of distinctive communication channels and by the Roman Catholic Church. A local newspaper published editorials from Italy and from Italian communities across Canada, especially from Toronto, and a local radio station broadcast an Italian language programme on Sunday mornings. Sport, especially Italian soccer, was frequently mentioned in these media. Although the Church's influence on young people appeared to be waning, the institution still claimed a very high affiliation rate in Edmonton. The community social worker often saw "the Sunday best brigade" and added that it was not uncommon for club members to withdraw from field trips due to church commitments. Franco explained that many young people, including the soccer players, were not as religious as their parents and attended church less frequently than older people. They complied with the tradition more to appease the priest and their relatives rather than for reasons of intrinsic motivation.

There remained strong links with the home country and the airline companies were the recipients of accumlated capital for frequent visits. Phil told me that he had been "to the old country", to a village near Naples, on two occasions and he was planning a third visit for the winter of 1982-83. In times of need and crisis the community provided mechanisms for support and social control. Franco told me how the official community organisations had collected financial support for the 1981 earthquake disaster in Italy. Phil had relatives who had been made homeless and who were still unable to return to their villages a year later. I added that the government had been tardy in organising emergency aid. "What government? They don't have a government over there," he dryly concluded. Several disaster victims had been brought to Edmonton.

One import foodstore owner informed me that he hoped to sponsor his brother so that the two of them could convert his premises into a community cafe serving traditional, inexpensive food in casual surroundings. I pointed out that such an atmosphere would be difficult to recreate in such a climate and under the restrictive Albertan licencing laws. He agreed that this would be his greatest problem but he drew attention to the increasing number of "British Pubs" in the city as a sign for optimism for the future.

The Coach

As Franco said, "Nick runs the whole show" even though there was an elected committee. His dedication to making the team a cohesive, functioning unit was manifest in the time he devoted to nurturing the players and his autocratic style of leadership. Clearly his motives were not entirely altruistic as he enjoyed being the focus of attention and regarded the team successes as his personal successes as well. Nick's authority was maintained through concensus, dissension was dissipated and malcontents moved on. This style was unacceptable to one young, skilful player who left the team in 1981 because of "poor organisation and a personality clash with Nick". He had, however, returned to the team for the 1982 outdoor season. Nick attributed this conflict to the personal problems of the player.

Born in southern Italy, Nick ran away from home at 15 years old when his parents decided to emigrate, but once in Canada he slowly adjusted. He worked in the Italian Centre Shop, owned by the team sponsor, Francesco Spinelli. As mentioned previously, Nick was very critical of other people's ability to run a soccer team, including an E.D.S.A. Select Team Coach: "With coaching like that I don't have to worry". He felt that it was important to interact with the players, get them talking to each other 'on the bench' and encourage them during a game. However, the usual coaching jargon was often interspersed with frustated appeals such as, "Jesus Christ, play the simple ball" and occasional altercations with the officials. I believe that thwarted ambition was a fundamental cause for his antipathy for he clearly thought that he could improve the selection and playing efficiency of representative teams and that he had been deliberately overlooked.

His confidence may be understood if considered in terms of team successes over the years, although the team had been successful before he became the coach. However, apart from gestures and verbal instructions during competitive games, I never observed him actually coaching the team during practice sessions. The playing of small-sided and conditioned games were the only structuring of these sessions that Nick imposed on the players. He often played in these games and usually selected the teams, which were not always well balanced. Sometimes the senior players challenged the younger players and injected an element of the 'men' versus the 'boys' into the competitive atmosphere. These initiation ceremonies served as status passages for the inexperienced players as well as a form of male-bonding in the process of acceptance into the hierarchy of the team.

When Nick played he was extremely vocal and highly competitive, if at times too robust in his challenging for the ball. He was euphoric when he scored a goal and unhesitatingly summoned the next competitors. Following one particularly gratifying success, he turned and exclaimed, "See you guys, now you know why I am the coach!" When his team was beaten in the subsequent game, Nick made the excuse that "Your coach is tired" and when their dismissal was swiftly repeated he pardoned himself with, "Your coach was still too tired". In general, he stopped the game for fouls whether he was playing or sitting out and his decisions were usually accepted with minimal protestation.

Nick's 'team talks' were usually delivered as a monologue and with alacrity. For example:

> Listen you guys...I got something to say to you all...we gotta get serious...no more fucking around...I'm the coach of the team but Paolo here is goin' to be the new trainer...and I want you to listen to him...and no fucking around...we gotta get serious here...now listen...I'm the coach and what I say goes...I don't want any arguing or disagreement with my decisions about who plays and who I say stays off one day...I'm the coach and I know soccer and I don't want any more fucking around in this team. I'll make the decisions and I'll stand or fall by them...but we got a good team here...some of the best players in the city...a good group of guys...so we gotta work together as a team...play for the team, and if you don't wanna play for the team then you go and play for another team...I never held anybody back and I always supported my players and pushed them for selection...they always phone me up and ask me about my players and I look after you...I got my wife and kids at home but I leave them for the soccer, cos I'm the coach of the team and I don't want anybody arguing with Paolo or me...Phil's the captain on the field and I don't want no arguing with him...what he says goes...O.K. you guys?

Following this statement one or two players alluded to incidents of what they felt to be unjust treatment. Nick agreed that there had been problems of communication, but as those instances were in the past they should be forgotten. Phil added some encouragement, probably in the hope of enhancing team performance. The meeting was concluded with a brief conversation about the forthcoming outdoor season and the tournaments in which they hoped to participate. Although Nick requested the discussion he had a habit of interrupting other people and providing his own interpretation to comments.

At the end of another practice he called the players together for a team talk in preparation for the following day's game against Victoria.

> I want you guys to be there at quarter to eight...we will change together...and we play as a team...every man to help each other...support the man with the ball...all forward or all back...we wanna win tomorrow.

A discussion was begun regarding tactics and substitutions, at which point Paul wandered over to collect his bag which was close to where I was sitting. "Too much politics," he sighed. On another occasion the new strip (Italian national colours) and a tournament in British Columbia were the subjects for debate. Both received tentative agreement before finer details were mulled over. On his way out a senior player said to me, "Just like the new shirts--pay now, promises, and never arrive".

Although Nick comforted himself with the thought that he was just 'one of the boys', his treatment of the young players was sometimes not very humanistic. For example, at the start of one practice he instructed the players to run around the gymnasium while he chose the teams and conversed with Joe Petrone, who was to join in that evening. One of the younger players offered his advice for a format and was curtly told, "Hey, you do the playing and I'll do the thinking!" I believed that Nick's perception was that as 'the coach' he had the inherent ability to lead. One illustration of this was when he noticed that the wallbars in the gymnasium were not secured and immediately halted the game. "You see, the coach notices these things; somebody could get hurt here", he announced loudly.

G. Conclusion

Nick obviously believed that he was a democratic and knowledgeable coach. My observations led me to question this belief. I concluded that he was an autocratic motivator who coordinated a skilful group of young players who themselves shared similar aspirations as soccer players and who affirmed group distinctiveness through shared cultural values. The players were prepared to submit, at least overtly, to the coach's authority. They also behaved in a manner which led me to conclude that they accepted and believed in the values of meritocratic liberalism. The two value systems are clearly not mutually exclusive.

A relatively stable community continued to transmit cultural values based on Italian traditions. However, it should be borne in mind that these values may not have been fully integrated because of differential socialisation according to the region of origin, the class, the aspirations and the level of acculturation of each family.

In Chapter IV it was noted that there were cultural differences between those immigrants who left Italy during the early decades of the 20th century and those who participated in the post 1950's migrations. The major reason for these differences was that the earlier immigrants had, to some extent, perpetuated the values of a previous era while at the same time they had adopted, to some extent, the values of a dominant core-society. A severe limitation of Canadian immigration severed ties with, and regeneration from, 'the old country'. Although more frequent travel may have modified its effects, the contemporary community of Italian-Canadians may well have been experiencing a similar pattern of social change. The liberal values which the children of Italian parents were being taught in the school system and were being exposed to in the urban environment of Edmonton, have been mediated by the more resistant, conservative values of a predominantly rural, southern Italy of three decades ago. Moreover, regeneration from Italy has been almost non-existent.

VII. THE BAR ITALIA IN EDMONTON, THE PUBLIC MEDIA AND THE F.I.F.A. WORLD CUP TOURNAMENT IN SPAIN, 1982

A. Introduction

The drama of the final game of the 12th F.I.F.A. World Cup Competition was played out by Italy and West Germany in the 30 degree heat of the Santiago Bernabeu Stadium in Madrid, Spain on Sunday July 11, 1982 before 90,000 spectators. This game was the culmination of two years of preliminary rounds to establish which twenty four countries, from the more than one hundred original entrants, would advance to the final tournament which had been scheduled to be played in several Spanish cities during June and July. In Edmonton, approximately two hundred and fifty patrons gathered at the Bar Italia (Centro Recreativo and Informativo) to support the national team as they watched the game which was broadcast to more than one billion viewers in one hundred and thirty nations.[97] The strength of their affiliation with the mother country was evident and the street scenes that followed the game convincingly dispelled any lingering doubts about the existence of an Italian-Canadian community in Edmonton.

Clive Toye stated that this tournament was not an insular, domestic "world championship" (Edmonton Sun, July 12, 1982). The World Cup is an international sporting event which, like the Olympics, is held every four years, traditionally alternating between Europe and the Americas. Unlike the Olympics, however, the tournament is awarded to a country rather than a city. This ensures that the expense of staging the event is more evenly distributed and also that people from different regions of a country have the opportunity to see intensely competitive and highly aesthetic spectacles in their home team's stadium.[98]

---

[97] In the preface of Desmond Morris' book (1981), it is claimed that over 1,000 million people tuned in to the 1978 World Cup Final. That is approximately one quarter of the population of the world.

[98] The Spanish government allocated 84 million dollars for ground improvements to seventeen stadia (Edmonton Soccer Express, February 1981).

Passionate allegiances have traditionally pervaded national and international competition. Success in the World Cup is the ultimate dream of players and supporters alike. Instances of adversity and even deprivation abound. It is often impossible to separate emotional affiliations with a team from working life and identification may be all embracing.[99] Many writers have likened association football fanaticism to religious zealotry, while others have written about how politicians have attempted to manipulate voting patterns by their association with successful teams.[100] Moreover, political conflicts have been attributed, in part, to conflicts on the football field, with one game having been considered to be a catalyst in international warfare.[101]

It was difficult to differentiate between the scenes of chanting, flag-waving Argentineans during the Falklands/Los Islas Malvinas crisis and similar scenes in Buenos Aires in 1978 when the home team defeated Holland in the World Cup Final that year. Likewise, a parallel might be drawn between the jubilant, Union Jack waving crowds at Portsmouth which welcomed the British Armada's return from the South Atlantic in the spring of 1982, and similar scenes following England's World Cup victory against West Germany in the 1966 Wembley Stadium Final.

It would seem apparent that international sporting accomplishments, the rousing of nationalistic pride and the reinforcement of cultural stereotypes are interrelated. Although the patrons of the Bar Italia suffer geographic dislocation from the mother country, there was no lack of nationalistic fervour as they prepared to watch the match against West Germany.

The media have historically used sport in order to attract the public to newspapers, magazines and, more recently, to television programmes with the result that they accrue increased revenues from the advertising corporations. Persuasion and the creation of images have always been an integral part of

---

[99] For example, see Janet Lever (1973). Paul Hallihan reported that many workers in the crowd at the Bar Italia took the day off to watch Italy play against Brazil (Edmonton Journal, July 6, 1982).

[100] For example, Harold Wilson admitted that he made full political use of England's World Cup victory in 1966 (Lawton, Edmonton Journal, June 23, 1982).

[101] The "Soccer War" between Honduras and El Salvador in 1969 (Morris, 1981: 278; Smith, 1976: 205).

'marketing technique'. Association football, as a social phenomenon of national and international significance, is a pervasive influence on the lives of hundreds of millions of people around the world. The media actively reinforce the popular appeal of the game in their pursuit of capital accumulation. Almost 6 million people viewed the final game on Canadian television.[102] This audience was sold by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to Labatt Brewing Company (major investor), Century 21 ("Your neighbourhood professionals. Over 7,000 offices in North America"), Gillette ("Known the world over") and the Mazda ("The more you look, the more you like") corporations. The next five sections of this chapter are broadly concerned with one international sporting accomplishment, the Italian victory in the 1982 World Cup, and its interrelationships with Italian nationalism and the public media.

The printed media, as a significant socialising agent, also aid the reinforcement of cultural stereotypes.[103] A brief analysis of the local Edmonton media's presentation of the World Cup is documented in the seventh section of this chapter. Canada's role in this competition and the attempts to achieve national and international recognition through soccer are considered in the eighth section and concluding remarks are drawn in the final section.

B. The Bar Italia and the World Cup Final

The Bar Italia is located several blocks north east of the city centre, in an area populated mainly by working-class people of Ukranian, Italian, Portuguese and Native Indian descent. It is situated on a busy street opposite a pleasant tree-lined park which has been renamed Giovanni Caboto Park.[104] The small bar and spacious billiards hall occupy a section of a building shared with 'City

---

[102] Interestingly, this estimate of the Canadian audience is approximately one quarter of the nation's population which is the same proportion given for the worldwide audience.

[103] This point also applies to gender or sex role stereotyping.

[104] On May 2, 1497 Giovanni Caboto set sail on the Matthew from Bristol, England, in search of a westward passage to the Orient. Caboto was a citizen of Venice who had established himself in London in 1484. On June 24, 1497 he landed on Cape Breton Island and erected the Royal Standard of England in the name of Henry VII, alongside the banner of St. Mark of Venice (Gibbon, 1938: 382; Spada, 1969: 9).

Centre Meats' and the 'Italian Centre Shops Limited'. The three, green, white and red Italian flags and one Canadian Maple Leaf flag which usually fluttered from the roof of the building, had been removed to be used in the pre-game festivities.

The large television screen had been moved from the bar into the billiard hall, where it was placed on a pinball machine which was at right angles to the windowed front of the hall. An attempt had been made to darken the room by closing the curtains over the lower sections of the windows and masking the upper sections with cardboard. However, these measures proved inadequate against the bright sunlight of midday, thus the clarity of the picture was marred.

There were large black and white photographs of soccer players, racing car drivers and ice-hockey players around the walls in both rooms. From the bar it was possible to purchase such Italian specialities as caffe espresso and cappuccino, soft ice-cream in many flavours, mineral water, soft drinks, etc.. Behind the bar were several trophies, a colour photograph of the contemporary premier division soccer team and a price list in Italian. Tony, the manager of the bar and of the premier soccer team, was confident of success as he handed me a banana flavoured cornet. When asked, he did, in fact, predict the final score.

The bar was a predominantly male domain but there had been one or two females present during most of my visits. The room exuded a convivial atmosphere as animated and often passionate discussions were conducted in Italian. However, patrons were willing to change to English and 'outsiders' were not made unwelcome. Topics for discussion included the recent fortunes of their own amateur teams or the demise of the professional franchise in Edmonton and the syndicated N.A.S.L.. Neither class nor age appeared to create a social barrier but a degree of reticence was usually discernible between working men and businessmen. Certainly this is where men came to congregate with other men with whom they shared linguistic and cultural bonds.

Expectant fans were seated in tightly packed rows in front of the screen, discussing the individual strengths and weaknesses of both teams, well before the game commenced. There was a mood of anticipation and confidence as over two hundred men, several boys and a few women joined in the pre-game festivities. The chanting and singing was accompanied by a drum and two trumpets. As others arrived they congregated around the sides and back of the hall and many more gathered around the three large billiard tables adjacent to the side of the screen and the seated fans. Unfortunately the front door off the street had been closed to keep the room a little darker and the single small fan was ineffectual in disturbing the smoke-laden air or cooling the tightly packed patrons.

Those of us who stood around the billiard tables tried to maintain a reasonable view of the screen by shuffling one way and then another, which caused a chain reaction behind us. The problem was exacerbated by the latecomers who showed little consideration as they staked themselves out in clear vantage points, often at the expense of others. Several of the Ital.-Canadian players and their coach, Nick, were positioned in the more prestigious seats, from whence the chanting was usually initiated. I recognised many other regular patrons.

As the two teams stood to attention for the obligatory national anthem of each country, the camera panned the officials and dignitaries gathered in the stands. King Juan Carlos of Spain was accompanied by the Italian President, Sandro Pertini, the West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, and the deposed king of Greece, Constantine. A spontaneous round of applause from the aficianados in the Bar Italia added to the excitement as the camera was focussed on the President; an unexpected happening considering the fragile state of Italian politics. The patrons arose and joined in a rousing rendition of the Italian national anthem along with the fans in Spain, in Italy and probably with hundreds of Italian communities in Canada, the United States, Argentina, Brazil and elsewhere in the world. This was a demonstrative display of ardent nationalism. Several fans respectfully remained on their feet for the German national anthem. Soon afterwards, the patrons settled down to the more familiar rhythms of I-tal-ia... I-tal-ia... I-tal-ia... etc., and Rossi... Rossi... Rossi... etc., which were often prompted by a piercing blast on the trumpet. A few minutes later a thunderous roar announced that the game had started. This was followed by frequently repeated and frustrated requests for "Silencio!".

There were no goals in the physically demanding first half. Some of the tackling was unduly crude as both sides secured their defensive zones and cautiously probed the opposition's territory.

Italy's 'hard' men, Cluadio Gentile and Guiseppe Bergomi had been instructed to 'shadow' Germany's skilful and potentially dangerous forwards, Pierre Littbarski and Karl-Heinz Rummenigge, respectively. The very popular and enigmatic Italian forward, Paulo Rossi, was dealt some severe treatment by Karl-Heinz Foster, which incensed Rossi's fans in the Bar Italia. The other Italian forward, Francesco Graziani, was forced to withdraw from the game after only six minutes, following a collision with an opponent. This was a serious blow to Italian hopes particularly as their outstanding midfield player, Giancarlo Antognoni, was also unable to play as he had sustained a foot injury in the semi-final game against Poland.

The highlight of the first half was a penalty, awarded to the Italians in the twenty sixth minute, by the Brazilian referee, Arnaldo Coelho, for a foul on Conti.[105] The usual penalty-taker, Antognoni, had been replaced by Antonio Cabrini. The patrons of the Bar Italia were ecstatic in anticipation of a certain goal. Unfortunately, through a combination of over exuberance on the part of the fans and a most inconsiderate photographer standing in front of the screen so that he could take his spectacular 'shot' of the celebrations in the bar, we, nearer to the back of the hall, were unable to see Cabrini push his shot to the right of the goal. Each replay was accompanied by cries of dismay amidst more cries for "Silencio" and requests for more consideration for those at the back of the hall.

The fifteen minute half time interval was greeted with relief as the door swung open, allowing a cooler draught to expurgate the stagnant air inside the hall, as people poured out into the street for analytical discussions away from the confines of the room.

---

[105] Coelho became the first non-European to referee a World Cup final. The first tournament was played in 1930 (Canadian Press, Edmonton Journal, January 10, 1982).

I took this opportunity to move closer to the screen where I chatted with a friend about the game. As the start of the second half approached, people attempted to reclaim their places. The play became more resolute and the tension and excitement mounted as the Italians began to gain control and the Germans began to lose their composure.

By this time it was apparent that there were more media personnel in the room than I had previously realised. Two television cameras with objectionably bright lights were repeatedly turned on the patrons at the slightest hint of elation. Several photographers lurked near the pinball machines, 'shooting' indiscriminately. One reporter repeatedly lifted a recording microphone towards the chanting fans and a number of journalists had their note pads at the ready. Each of Italy's three goals, scored by Paolo Rossi, Marco Tardelli and Alessandro Altobelli respectively, inspired a clamour of singing waving, clapping and dancing from the fans, which prompted the media technicians to rush forward in order to record the scenes, often blocking people's view of the screen and always affecting the clarity of the replays with their powerful lights. Their actions also subjected us to several seconds of impaired vision as the light flashes cleared from our eyes. The media interference provoked only intermittent disapproval. Many fans were so aroused on these occasions that they seemed oblivious to the intrusions; many moved in order to retain a view of the screen and others may well have enjoyed the attention, knowing that their image could well appear on local television or in the newspaper.

Following Italy's third goal, one of the barmen rushed forward with the first of several bottles of champagne which he shook in order to release sprays of foaming alcohol over the exuberant crowd. The bottles were thrust from person to person as some people drank and others bathed in the white fluid. My shirt became wet and my arms sticky from one shower. Germany's late and only goal, by Paul Brietner, was hardly noticed at first in the pandemonium but the fans quietened considerably as the realisation dawned on them. Perhaps they were reminded of Germany's win over France in the semi-final when they fought back from a 3-1 deficit. However, this feat was not to be repeated. The referee picked up the ball, held it aloft, and blew his whistle to end the final game of World Cup 1982. Italy had joined Brazil as a three times winner of the coveted trophy.[106]

The triumphant and jubilant fans in the Bar Italia made hastily constructed plans as they watched the Italian goalkeeper and captain, Dino Zoff (at forty, the oldest player in the tournament), accept the solid gold trophy from King Carlos. The Italian President did not hide his delight as he congratulated the Italian team. The mood was euphoric as we spilled out into the street and the celebrations began in earnest.

Cars and open trucks appeared, many of them already decorated with green, white and red streamers; hatch-backs were raised as men, boys and girls piled into already overcrowded vehicles. More flags were produced as hundreds of chanting fans, some of whom were clothed in their national colours, flooded into the area from the Italian households nearby. The streets became increasingly congested with cars and with people singing and waving flags. The honking car horns and hand horns, the ringing cow bells and exploding firecrackers produced a cacophony of sounds. The trumpet players became red in the face each time they repeated their rallying call. Someone was waving a Canadian flag and a car arrived to join the procession with a blue and white Argentinean flag fluttering from a window. One of the Ital.-Canadian soccer players climbed in as it pulled into the side of the street. I believed that they were Argentineans of Italian descent who had decided to support Italy after Agentina's elimination.

The growing convoy of vehicles drove around in procession as their occupants and the fans in the street chanted I-tal-ia... I-tal-ia... I-tal-ia... etc. or 3-1... 3-1... 3-1... etc.. Many fans thrust their index finger into the air, the traditional North American sporting gesture for the Number One team.[107]

---

[106] Italy previously won in 1934 and 1938. After Brazil's third win, in Mexico 1970, the Jules Rimet Trophy (named after the French founder of the tournament) was presented to them for permanent retention. The new trophy is called The F.I.F.A. World Cup.

A decision must have been made to carry the noisy message further afield, perhaps to unsuspecting people taking a more leisurely approach to their Sunday afternoon. Despite the obvious 'disturbance of the peace' the only law enforcement officer present at this time was a policeman on a motor-cycle who occasionally cruised up and down the street. Urged on by the crowd, he indulged them by sounding his siren once or twice, thus condoning the festivities of the rejoicing fans. People hugged each other emotionally as they shared their pride and their beverages.

The driver of a truck decided to block the street by parking his vehicle at right angles to oncoming traffic then he and his passengers encouraged others to do likewise. Everbody left their vehicles and congregated in the street directly in front of the Bar Italia. Nick and several of the soccer players paraded around in their Italian shirts, complete with national badges, and posed for the photographers. He was impassioned as he organised a group of the fans to move down a side street in the direction of Clarke Stadium.[108] Many people, although not directly involved in the celebrations, enjoyed the scene from a peripheral position in the park. Families, young children and one or two older women dressed in traditional black clothing, were entertained by the rejoicing crowd.

By this time the bottleneck had reached serious proportions and the public transport system was brought to a halt. Four police cars arrived, driving down the wrong side of the street until they reached the cause of the blockage. The police decided not to take authoritative action but merely conversed with representatives of the community who hurriedly attempted to untangle the chaos as the police patiently stood by. There was an audible sigh of relief as it became obvious that the party would be allowed to proceed provided the street remained open to traffic. The convoy cruised the streets for several more hours and the revelry probably continued well into the night.

---

[107] It has been reported that an American company has made a substantial amount of money by producing a large foam rubber hand in the shape of this gesture and marketing it through the consumer sports industries.

[108] Allen Panzeri reported that Italian supporters paraded inside Clarke Stadium before the Edmonton Drillers game against the Seattle Sounders. Peter Mellor (the English goalkeeper) "came onto the field waving an Italian flag, to the delight and cheers of those in the stands" (Edmonton Journal, July 12, 1982).

Meanwhile, as Allen Panzeri reported, the Edmonton Drillers had succumbed to another home defeat watched by a crowd of only 3,452 (Edmonton Journal, July 12, 1982). It was unfortunate, yet ironic, that they were playing while one of their largest and most vociferous, potential sources of community support was involved in demonstrating their allegiance to another team in another country. The economic and social aspects that differentiate North American soccer from association football elsewhere in the world, present a gulf that is proving difficult to bridge and which may in fact be impossible to bridge. Allen Panzeri speculated upon the social significance of the "magnificently skilled Italian's" victory and the impact that it might have on North American soccer. He also ruminated about Canada's role in the World Cup and the relationship between amateur and professional soccer in Edmonton and across the country. He concluded, "But without pro. soccer...Canada's World Cup past may also be its future" (Edmonton Journal, July 12, 1982).

It was still warm in the late afternoon as I cycled through the city centre where a convoy of horn-honking, flag-waving supporters determinedly continued to inform the decidedly uninterested population of Italy's great victory. The streets of the 'middle-class' suburbs of southwest Edmonton were almost deserted, in stark contrast to the area I had recently left, but a few families were sitting in, or tending, their neatly designed and well groomed gardens. The smell of barbecued meat permeated the air. Here the tranquility had obviously not been disturbed by the game which had touched so many hearts and aroused so much passion elsewhere in the city and throughout the world.

C. Team Affiliation and Italian Nationalism

Italy's success in the World Cup undoubtedly raised the profile of Italian people, and stories of 'Little Italies' must have proliferated in the worldwide media coverage of the event. It was estimated that 35,000 Italian fans had witnessed their heroes' triumph in Madrid and started celebratory scenes which were repeated in Italian communties all around the world (Edmonton Journal News Service, July 12, 1982). Police in Rome estimated that 300,000 people crowded into the city centre on Sunday night (A.P., Edmonton Journal, July 12, 1982) after thousands of fans had watched the game on a giant television screen which had been erected in Piazzo del Popolo, Rome's largest square, by R.A.I., the state owned broadcasting corporation (Edmonton Journal News Service, July 12, 1982).

The police in Toronto estimated that 100,000 fans joined in a fifteen block street celebration around St. Clair Avenue West and College Street, an area which they had closed to traffic two hours prior to the start of the game. The Toronto-Italian community of approximately 450,000 is the largest outside Italy. One man rushed into the centre of the street as the game ended, placed an Italian flag on the ground, and then knelt down and kissed it repeatedly (McLaren and Tenzen, Globe and Mail, July 12, 1982; Edmonton Journal News Service, July 12, 1982).

A young visitor from Rome, who was staying with friends in Toronto, commented: "It's crazier here than in Italy" (Canadian Press, Edmonton Journal, July 12, 1982).[109] As was the case in Edmonton, the police in Toronto decided not to interfere with the course of the celebrations. A spokesman was quoted by McLaren and Tenzen as saying: "There's never any trouble with the Italians. They're all with a family group" (Globe and Mail, July 12, 1982). In another article Michael Tenzen quoted a supporter:

> This game has been good for this community...and this game will do wonders for soccer in Canada. ...Canada is too dominated by sports imported from the United States. I'd give soccer about 10 years in Canada and it will be no 1 (Globe and Mail, July 12, 1982).

---

[109] The abbreviation C.P. will be used for Canadian Press hereafter.

Similar scenes were witnessed in Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Windsor, Sault Ste. Marie, Halifax and in Vancouver, where the Annual Italian Market Day had come to a standstill during the game. "In Montreal the scale of the celebrations rivalled Toronto's, as thousands of men, women, children and senior citizens hugged and kissed each other" (C.P., Edmonton Journal, July 12, 1982). Celebrations continued on the streets of Toronto on Monday morning and similar scenes were witnessed all over Italy as the people paid tribute to 'Nostri Azzuri' (Our Blue). The victorious team received a tumultuous homecoming at Rome's Cimpino military airport (A.P., Edmonton Journal, July 12, 1982).

D. Football Zealotry

James Lawton discussed the "demi-gods" which "every nation has" and who usually attain international recognition as well. England had Stanley Matthews in the 1950's and Hungary had Alfredo di Stefano in the same decade. During the 1960's Ferenc Puskas became Spain's demi-god and the rising star of Argentina, Diego Maradona, appears to be joining the inner circle. However, the omnipotent international idol, yet to be superseded, is Pele of Brazil. His presence dominated the soccer world for more than a decade, until his retirement in 1977 (Edmonton Journal, June 23, 1982).

Paolo Rossi is 'worshipped' by his adoring fans. A sign in Turin read, "On the eighth day God created Paolo Rossi", and in Vancouver, fans wore T-shirts sporting the caption, "Rossi for Pope" (C.P., Edmonton Journal, July 12, 1982). James Lawton reported that "Herrera is the archpriest of defensive soccer" (Edmonton Journal, July 11, 1982). Enzo Bearzot, the Italian manager, has probably become sufficiently revered to have attained the status of a 'holy man'.

Clearly, it is not necessary to relinquish attachment to one religion in favour of another. A compromise can be achieved whereby both may be accommodated. For example, a supporter had prayed in Church on Sunday morning for Italy to win the World Cup. His identification with his national team had reached such intensity that he had commented, "It means more to me than my wife" (Edmonton Journal News Service, July 12, 1982). This metaphysical theme pervades football. A cafe owner in Vancouver exclaimed, "It's from above--God wanted us to be happy this day because we've been waiting so long" (C.P., Edmonton Journal, July 12, 1982).

Following Italy's stunning victory in Madrid, Gianni Rivera, a commentator who had previously made disparaging remarks about the team, proclaimed in Rome's La Repubblica: "I will wear the habit of a penitent and follow the procession of Saint Bartholomew in repentance at my home village" (Gammon, Sports Illustrated, July 19, 1982).

Judging by the righteously indignant rebuttals of Strachan's column headed, "World Cup proves something of a flop. Format laughable, excitement minimal",one might be led to believe that his criticisms were tantamount to heresy. He did concede that the tournament was indeed a 'World Cup' and not "like our World Series or countless other championships staged by our neighbours to the south, a limited competition open to only selected participants". However, he condemned himself with the statement that "The officiating was terrible; the format laughable; and the excitement minimal" (Globe and Mail, July 12, 1982).

There was some foundation for his statements in that *some* of the officiating was questionable; the format was not ideal, generating several inadequacies and placing too many players under too much pressure; several games did lack excitement and there was an element of collusion. Having said that, he did perpetrate three heterodoxies. Firstly, it was surprising that he should choose the day after such an emotive and momentous event to be so damning in print. Secondly, he committed the sin of false reification; a common occurrance in popular journalism. He overstated his case and sensationalised the 'facts'. Finally he transgresssed where there could be no forgiveness. He demonstrated a consumate lack of empathy with, and knowledge of, the game, as indicated by his own admission: "...it's hard to see what the fuss is all about" (ibid).

E. Ritualised Conflict

There was a plethora of terminology, in the media's coverage of the World Cup which encouraged one to think of the game in terms of 'the hunt' and its accompanying rituals. "The crowd anticipated the kill", was an example in Gary Prouse's description of the scene at the Bar Italia (Edmonton Sun, July 12, 1982). The hunt element was noted in a report from Madrid by James Lawton regarding the approaching final game, "...there are coaches from all around the world who will lick their lips in anticipation of the cut and thrust of pure strategy", and "...after the Italians had lured Brazil to disaster" (Edmonton Journal, June 30, 1982). The trophy from the hunt is invariably an opponent's shirt, especially during international matches. Kai Haaskivi (formally of the Drillers) posed for an Edmonton photographer as he displayed both an Italian and a German shirt, souvenirs from his games against these teams for the Finnish national side. Allen Panzeri called it "...the ritual jersey exchange" (Edmonton Journal, July 11, 1982).

Many observers have argued that soccer is an institutionalised form of controlled conflict. However, the conflict in soccer is not always merely symbolic nor is it always contained within the bounds of the playing field.[110] For example, Graham Leggat, television analyst for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (C.B.C.), stated that, "I wouldn't be surprised if the Poles kick and chop the Russians to pieces.... Pride and nationalism are what the World Cup is all about" (T.V. Guide, June 5, 1982).

There was also a great deal of written and verbal speculation over the possible reactions had England met Argentina in the final rounds of the tournament. Clive Gammon noted that the English "...took on the French again and trounced them 3-1" on the 167th anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo (Sports Illustrated, July 5, 1982). James Lawton highlighted the theme of symbolic death in battle in the following comment: "So the French had 'petit mort'; a little death in Seville, and the World Cup lost a graceful team" (Edmonton Journal,

---

[110] For example, see Ian Taylor's work on professional football in England, violence on and off the field and his interpretations in terms of social class and social structure.

July 9, 1982).

This theme was apparent in a reader's letter to a sport reporter: "Soccer is no longer just a game. It is 20th century gladiators who bring their country's honor into every match" (Strachan, Globe and Mail, July 20, 1982). In Rome, on the night of July 11, 1982, the thousands of jubilant fans "...marched, sang and chanted through the historic centre of the Italian capital, following the traditional route of triumph for ancient Rome's victorious generals" (Edmonton Journal News Service, July 12, 1982).

The theme was continued by Clive Toye in Madrid, "Paolo Rossi conquered the world for Italy yesterday. ...It was a cruel and brilliant victory absolute". He concluded that:

> The Italians truly deserved that title. This is no insular domestic "world championship". Italy has won in the best way man has yet devised for one nation to conquer the earth without actually having to go to war. ...Italy, champions of the world and the world pays homage (Edmonton Sun, July 12, 1982).

A reporter in Rome concluded:

> Italy's champion soccer team returned home as conquering Romans yesterday. ...[The jubilation was] matched only by festivities following Italy's liberation at the end of the Second World War (United Press International, Edmonton Sun, July 13, 1982).[111]

F. Politics, Ideology and Manipulation

This section is a further consideration of political involvement in football, the extent to which people have identified with the game, how it affects both social and working life,[112] and how the media interpret events and transmit ideological messages.

The fact that over one billion people watched the final of the World Cup indicated the world wide appeal of the game. According to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 5.9 million people watched the game on Canadian television; that is 200,000 more than watched the 1981 Grey Cup, thus making it one of the most successful sporting events in the history of Canadian television (Westgate, Edmonton Journal, August 5, 1982).[113] The Italian state-controlled television company, R.A.I., estimated that 30 million Italian's viewed the semi-final game against Poland and an even larger number viewed the final (Sports Roundup, Globe and Mail, July 15, 1982).

---

[111] The abbreviation U.P.I. will be used for United Press International hereafter.

[112] For example, a Scottish 'pub' team bought an old double-decker bus, painted it in Scottish colours and prepared to travel to Spain, sampling as much beer as possible along the way. Some of them had been unemployed, others gave up their jobs. They had been saving money for years to make this 'pilgrimage'.

Examples of politicians' association with sport are numerous.[114] A Brazilian political analyst, Villas Boas Correa, explained that Brazil's elimination would probably affect the ruling Social Democratic Party's plan for the national election to be held in November:

> The government planned to mount its campaign on the impetus of the World Championship. ...The Government and its party would be the political heirs of the victory. Brazil's elimination from the Cup...already is producing deep and far-reaching political consequences (C.P., Globe and Mail, July 7, 1982).

Italy's Prime Minister, Giovanni Spadolini, announced that because he brought his country good luck, he would travel to Madrid for the final (Gammon, Sports Illustrated, July 19, 1982). President Sandro Pertini flew the team home in his private air force jet and he was the first to step off the plane in Rome to the cheers of hundreds of thousands of Italian fans (Gammon, Sports Illustrated, July 19, 1982; U.P.I. Edmonton Sun, July 13, 1982). Enzo Bearzot and members of the team followed the President as the occasion was broadcast on national television (A.P., Edmonton Journal, July 12, 1982). The players were honoured at the Quirinale Presidential Palace that evening, and on the following day, in a Presidential speech to the Senate, Amintore Fanfani "praised the skill and tenacity" of the Italian players in their "great new victory" (A.P., Edmonton Journal, July 14, 1982).

---

[113] The 1981 Grey Cup drew 5.7 million Canadian viewers; the 1982 Super Bowl drew 4.5 million Canadian viewers; the 1981 World Series drew 4.2 million Canadian viewers.

[114] I have already mentioned Harold Wilson's association with the game. Henry Kissinger's association with the N.A.S.L. is mentioned in a later section of this chapter. Successive American politicians and Presidents have reminded their public of the values of dedication, discipline, loyalty, deferred gratification etc. that can be learned through sport. For example, see Gerald Ford (1976), and John F. Kennedy (1973).

The zealous Brazilians, exemplify the belief that intense personal identification with sport can be used as a basis for social control. A comment from a Canadian in Spain illustrates the omnipresent nature of their affiliation:

> I've always loved soccer but I didn't know it could be so great. I didn't know that 11 guys could make magic with a soccer ball. The whole experience of watching them, and their fans, and listening to their drums, is incredible (Lawton, Edmonton Journal, July 9, 1982).

Many Italians are no less partisan. One supporter in Toronto fell to the floor and cried in the arms of two friends when he realised that Italy was going to win the World Cup. One of his friends commented to Michael Tenzen; "You see, Franco knows soccer. ...He fainted after the Brazilian game" (Globe and Mail, July 12, 1982).

Unfortunately, such intense psychological identification bears serious ramifications when a team inexplicably falters. Drastic increases in attempted and successful suicides and nervous breakdowns were recorded in all major Brazilian cities when the South American team was eliminated from the competition by Italy (C.P., Globe and Mail, July 7, 1982). For example, Clive Gammon reported that "In Rio, when Rossi got the winner, a 20-year-old shot himself dead" (Sports Illustrated, July 19, 1982). Football may be addictive and all embracing but it may also be no more than a brief respite from the economic, political and social reality of a nation's existence: "...the championship won [on] Sunday erased--for the moment--the country's [Italy's] political and economic problems..." (U.P.I., Edmonton Sun, July 13, 1982).

It was possible to detect political ideological bias in journalistic material and in remarks by television commentators with reference to Poland, Solidarity and the 'Russian Bear'. Graham Leggat's comments about the Poles kicking and chopping the Russians to pieces, quoted in an earlier section, bore more than a hint of ideological significance. The same could be said of the following comments made by James Lawton in his report of Zbigniew Boniek's transfer to Juventus:

> ...the happiest human story to come out of Poland since Solidarity and the government stood toe to toe. ...Boniek...who for more than three years has been patiently trying to barter his talent for a decent life for his family. ...Neither he nor his wife Wieslava will ever have to line up for any of life's necessities. No longer will their clothes come

> off the slender peg of a Communist society (Edmonton Journal, June 30, 1982).

In another article Lawton remarked that "They [the Polish team] promised to bring sunshine to a nation which had run out of international food stamps" (Edmonton Journal, July 9, 1982). The Polish government made an official complaint to the effect that the cameras had been deliberately focused on the Solidarity banners in the crowd as western commentators made political statements about repression in Poland which were designed to encourage people to indulge in social dissent.

I have already made reference to the media's speculation about a soccer game between England and Argentina in the light of the war in the South Atlantic. Many critics attributed Argentina's poor performances in Spain to the political turmoil at home. For example, James Lawton reflected on Maradona's expulsion from the field following a vicious foul on a Brazilian:

> We can be sure he wasn't crying for Argentina, as millions were. ...What can you say about the Argentines which doesn't smack of hitting a nation when it's down? (Edmonton Journal, July 3, 1982).

Clive Gammon made similar remarks: "The unfortunately named Galtieri Line of defenders...held firmer than its namesake" (Sports Illustrated, July 5, 1982). A caption in the same article brought the reader's attention to a picture of Scottish fans exhibiting a banner proclaiming, 'Alcoholism versus Communism'; it read, "En route to a game against Russia, Scottish fans raised sloganeering to a new high".

Ideological content was also discernible in an opportune speech by President Ronald Reagan as he sought to take political advantage, as other world leaders were doing through football, of the perceived similarities between *his* country's national sport and the 'Great American Dream'. He drew a comparison between the country's economic condition and a 'fightback' to professional baseball by J. R. Richard following a near-fatal stroke:

> If we can focus as clearly on our goal as J. R. Richard has on his, then I believe that we, too, can find the strength to make our dreams come true (Edmonton Journal, July 14, 1982).

Ideological conflict of political significance permeates international football, as it does the Olympics and most international sport. One example was the

U.S.S.R.'s refusal to play against Chile in Santiago Stadium during the preliminary rounds of the 1974 World Cup. An American financed military junta, led by Pinochet, violently overthrew the elected Socialist government of Allende in 1973 and turned the stadium into a prison camp for Chilean dissidents, where thousands were tortured and executed. F.I.F.A. was unwilling to compromise and reschedule the game; consequently the U.S.S.R. was forced to withdraw from the competition.

G. Cultural Stereotypes and the Media

Cultural stereotypes are reinforced through soccer by television commentators, by reporters in the popular press, by coaches and by soccer fans and players themselves. We must understand personal cultural biases and be able to account for them, thereby facilitating an awareness of their own ethnicity. Cultural stereotyping is not necessarily negative nor is it always incorrect. It can offer meaning and understanding and consequently aid in cognitive development and enhance social consciousness. However, stereotyping can be, and has been, used to develop prejudicial attitudes. History has shown that by justifying racialist ideology on the basis of biological determinism (Social Darwinism) we have learned to condone and legitimise discriminatory behaviour at the individual level and in government policies. The media, as a significant socialising force in our society, should be more aware of their role in reproducing negative perceptions.

Ray Turchansky's sarcastic and fatuous comments, presumably presented as satire, about Nanook (a near-sighted Inuit from Old Crow, who won the local beauty contest raffle, held in conjunction with the Old Crow Bake Sale) and Luigi (a spaghetti salesman), and their conversation about the World Cup in "an Italian bar on Edmonton's 95th Street", are examples of condescending cultural stereotyping (Edmonton Journal, June 20, 1982).

In a report from Spain, James Lawton stated that:

> The Italians play artistic soccer, filled with subtlety, but also imbued with much caution, which is maybe a comment on Italy's overall

> military profile. ...The Scots, rambunctious soldiers, tend to make every game seem like a charge into the mouth of a cannon. ...The Germans attach much significance to discipline. The English are impressed with manly honest effort (Edmonton Journal, June 23, 1982).

The same journalist later reported that:

> The Italians have flair and subtle brain. The Germans have discipline and...much nerve. ...The French were more interesting, certainly more charming, the Brazilians were marvellous if a little mad. ...Gentile, who is of North African extraction, in some way expresses perfectly the dark side of the Italian soccer soul...(Edmonton Journal, July 9, 1982).

Barry Westgate, a columnist who rarely comments on the game, made caustic remarks like, "Emotional stuff, this soccer", and in referring to the forthcoming final he complacently predicted that:

> They [the Italians] lose,and someone is bound to say the 'fix' was in. The Church, the government, the media, mothers, wives, second cousins, even Interpol will probably be on their case. Another dozen players will be suspended for life (Edmonton Journal, July 9, 1982).

Gary Prouse revealed that a Portuguese soccer fan had lost $1,000 by betting $500 on the outcome of the Italy versus Brazil game. Having lost it, he then doubled his bet on the final in an attempt to recoup his money. The barman who had recounted the story was quoted as saying:

> Me, I just bet a couple of hundred. These Portuguese guys are funny--they're Brazilian. Once they were beaten they wanted us [Italy] to lose. I guess they didn't get their wish (Edmonton Sun, July 12, 1982).

Another journalist, Tom Brennan, had been present at the Victoria Soccer Club lounge to watch the final with "the dozen or so [who] sat in stoic silence as the last few agonizing minutes ticked away". His analysis was spiced with chauvinistic references to German culture:

> Nobody cried in their schnappes. [Although he later reported that Canadian beer was being drunk.] No one hurled any bratwurts at the television screen.... There were no giant flags draped around the room...no lenderhosen-garbed supporters shouting endless choruses of Deutschland Uber Alles. ...the only frau in the bunch (Edmonton Sun, July 12, 1982).[115]

The German supporters themselves also tended to reinforce the popular stereotypes, as reported in the same article:

> We're not as emotional and excitable as the people from the south

---

[115] It was difficult to decide whether the reporter was congratulating the fans for becoming more Canadian, or merely indulging himself as he made reference to aspects of the "stoic" German culture.

> of Europe.... The Germans don't gather together at one place like the Italians.... They'll stay at home and watch it on television.... Well, Germany is the second best in all the world.... You have to look at it that way. Then it's not so bad
> (ibid).[116]

Despite their disappointment the Victoria Club President made a friendly gesture: "I'm going to phone the Bar Italia to congratulate them... They deserve all the credit in the world, I mean that. The Italians proved they were the best" (ibid).[117]

H. Canada and the World Cup

Canada has never advanced to the finals of a World Cup Tournament. In the summer of 1980, Canada and Mexico advanced from the North American qualifying round, where the United States' team was eliminated, into a second round six-nation tournament in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. Canada was unable to score sufficient goals against her less than formidable opponents, and El Salvador, along with the home team, Honduras, progressed to the finals in Spain. Haiti, Mexico and Cuba were also eliminated. Prior to this tournament Hal Quinn had reported that eight of the twenty two players in the Canadian squad were born outside Canada, and that the coach of the team, Barrie Clarke,[118] had been optimistic about his team's chances of progressing to the finals. While explaining his coaching philosophy Clarke said:

> You have to bear in mind that Canada is quite a mixture of ethnic groups. To me, coaching is using your strengths and hiding your weaknesses. So having a variety of ethnic groups, why not bring out the strengths typical of the particular cultural groups? If you use all those strengths, then the composite picture is a healthy one.... If I want the courageous English-type goalkeeper, I've got him. If I want the type of goalie that is intense and very fast, I have Tino Littieri. Guile and expertise up front? I have Segota. But paired with him is Sweetzer, the sort of English diehard, God help anyone who gets in his way type. Now there's chalk and cheese (Macleans, November 9,

---

[116] It may be that the people from southern Europe are no more emotional than the people from northern Europe but that their cultural socialisation encourages them to exhibit their emotions while north Europeans may be encouraged to mask their emotions in public. Gathering to watch television may be a result of cultural socialisation. Comparative wealth and material possessions of the two cultures may also be influential factors.

[117] A similar conciliatory action was witnessed after the Ital.-Canadians had defeated Victoria in the final game for the E.D.S.A. play-off championship (indoor season 1981-82).

[118] Barrie Clarke is an English immigrant who taught physical education in British Columbia.

1982).

Cultural stereotyping is evident in this statement. Did Clarke base his selection of certain players on the belief that different cultures produce individuals with the ideal character traits suited to the demands of specific positions? Are Canadians developing their own cultural stereotypes in order to achieve 'Unity through Diversity' on the soccer field or merely perpetuating and utilising diverse cultural stereotypes? Mike Stojanovic, who emigrated to Canada in 1973, following a successful playing career in Yugoslavia, seemed to be reinforcing the stereotypes associated with a 'British style', perhaps a reflection of his coach's philosophy:

> We have more running power, we are physically stronger than any nation there [Honduras]. If we play like we can play, fighting for every ball- to play a disciplined game- nobody will even come close to us in Honduras (Macleans, November 9, 1982).

Many writers have speculated over the reasons for Canada's lack of success at the international level. Hal Quinn reported that the highly rated "Branko Segota was born in Yugoslavia 20 years ago and came to Canada with his family when he was 7. Of all the Canadians, he, perhaps, has the brightest present and future" (Macleans, November 23, 1981). However, he did not play well in Honduras and he is considered to be an egocentric player. Quinn quoted an irate Mike Stojanovic as saying, "We will play for him [Segota], but he must play for us too" (ibid). Perhaps Segota's performance was affected by his hopes for the future. Quinn had previously quoted him as saying:

> My future definitely lies beyond North America, hopefully in West Germany or Italy. The World Cup will get me recognized in the rest of the world, especially if I do well. At the least, it will help me to negotiate for more money in the N.A.S.L. (Macleans, November 9,
>
> 1982).

Franz St. Lot, a Haitian player, thought that Canada should have advanced:

> Look at them. They are big, strong men. They have always had good food, good vitamins. But they might not win because they don't need it as much as the players of Mexico, or Honduras or my country. The Canadians are playing soccer, we are fighting for survival (Macleans, November 23, 1981).

North American politicians, businessmen and association representatives, aware of the tremendous potential that the World Cup offers their specific interests, made representations to F.I.F.A.. Henry Kissinger, an avid supporter of the game and Chairman of the Board of the N.A.S.L., promoted the United States as a prospective host for future World Cup Competitions. Europe played against the Rest of the World at Giants Stadium in New Jersey on August 7, 1982, an event organised by the U.S. Soccer Association to provide a testing ground for the affects of artificial surfaces on athletes while also testing American support for the larger venture, as well as being a benefit match for U.N.I.C.E.F..

Europe defeated the Rest of the World as the Italian star, Giancarlo Antognoni, scored the winning goal much to the delight of the large Italian-American contingent in the crowd of 76,891. Alex Yannis reported that players from Italian and Brazilian teams were strongly influential on the field. Twenty countries were represented in all and the game was televised in sixty nations (New York Times, August 8, 1982). Lawrie Miffen detailed the Italian community celebration plans and explained that "The artificial turf at Giants Stadium is new to some players, familiar to others, but disliked by all", especially because it is the cause of far more injuries than grass surfaces (New York Times, August 8, 1982).

Two Canadian Soccer Association representatives, Eric King and Jim Fleming, were in Madrid in July to press for Canada's bid for the 1990 World Cup Competition and for a possible 1986 'rescue' should Columbia be unable to proceed with its organisations (C.P., Edmonton Journal, July 10, 1982). On October 26, 1982 President Curartas announced his country's withdrawal as host nation for the 1986 World Cup citing economic considerations as the decisive factor in this decision: "We have alot of other things to do and we do not have time to spend on the extravagances of F.I.F.A. and its members" (Journal News Service, October 26, 1982).

Brazil, Mexico and the United States were considered to be leading contenders to host the tournament following Columbia's withdrawal. Fleming, the C.S.A. President, said Canada's chances "would have to be considered a longshot" especially as Canada is unable to comply with F.I.F.A.'s requirement of 12 stadia with grass fields each capable of accommodating at least 40,000 spectators, several of which would have to accommodate 60,000 spectators (Fraser, Edmonton Journal, October 28, 1982). How realistic is Canada's bid for the 1990 tournament?[119]

I. Conclusion

We might conclude from this brief analysis that Canadian soccer is suffering from a self-inflicted identity crisis. Success at the international level seems to be based on a combination of financial incentives, nationalistic sentiments and appropriate facilities for a well organised and well coached national structure. However, financial incentives may be partially replaced by societal guarantees of educational opportunities and employment advancement in some countries. Canada's lack of success may be partially attributed to an inability to arrive at a compromise situation.

This analysis of the media's posturing on the World Cup and Canada's role in the tournament is not "value-free" and no apology is made for taking such a stance. I was in a similar role to the media personnel in that I was studying Italian culture as an 'outsider' who wished to report on the phenomenon of soccer and people's identification with the game. However, many of the reporters, cameramen and photographers displayed little interest in the game itself and there was a distinct tendency to glorify single occurrences and objectify people. Unfortunately, cultural biases and sensational reporting leave little room for what should be considered essential, namely, attempting to understand how people live, think and act as individuals and as members of a cultural group.

Anyone who is committed to a more humanistically oriented sociology should be aware of the media's pervasive power in society. Moreover, media personnel should be held accountable for their actions. As Hughes and Kallen point out:

---

[119] F.I.F.A. have since rejected the overtures from the United States and Canada. Artificial turf, narrow fields, travelling distance between venues and spectator indifference have all been cited as reasons for their decision. The conflict between F.I.F.A. and the North American Soccer Association has undoubtedly had a bearing on this decision.

> The manipulation of the mass media so as to reinforce negative, minority stereotypes remains a powerful technique of dominance wielded--consciously or unconsciously--by the majority group(s) to guarantee its (their) ascendancy (1976: 144).

The phenomenon of association football or soccer is not restricted to the game occurance. Individual identification with the symbolic meaning of the game has been perpetuated by the public media in order to sustain its pervasive worldwide influence. The communications industries have transformed competitive, male sport (and, increasingly, aesthetic and competitive female sport) into a form of vicarious entertainment for the purposes of financial accumulation in the capitalist mode of production. This chapter has also demonstrated how elite groups and powerful individuals have exploited the people's identification with sport for political purposes. Clearly association football is a significant cultural manifestation in Italy and the corporations are attempting to reproduce its significance for people of Italian descent (and other cultures) in North America.[120]

---

[120] Although serious attempts are being made to broaden the game's appeal for women, especially in North America where it is referred to as family entertainment, it remains an overwhelmingly male pursuit for active and passive participants.

VIII. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Summary

A theoretical analysis of the development of the Nation State of Canada has revealed that the idealistic notions that immigrants were welcomed with open arms, that land and occupations were provided for them and that they participated in a 'democratic spread of sport across the frontier' are not substantiated by historical and factual evidence.

Male migrant workers left Italy in the late 19th century and early 20th century because much of the country remained in the throes of feudalism at a time when the western bourgeoisie, including those in northern Italy, were engaged in the activities of competitive capitalism. The working-class of Italy, as a source of cheap wage-labour, were encouraged to migrate to North America. Moreover, as migrants they were unhampered by family and geographical ties and were moved from one workcamp to another with relative ease and minimal objection. Ethnic consciousness was actively sustained by the owners of the means of production who, because of affinitive socialisation and their desire to accumulate capital, attempted to dissipate any movements towards the formation of working-class consciousness. Immigrant men did not participate in organised sporting activities until the workers' movements were permitted to have some input into decision-making processes and a degree of occupational and familial stability was achieved.

Weber believed that the attribution of cultural diversities to natural, inherited tendencies was a form of vulgar racism. This phenomenon, manifest in Social Darwinism, was evident in reactionary state policies which discriminated against people on the basis of class, as well as their ethnocultural origins. Many of the contempory books and newspapers would seem to support this contention. Although Canada has instituted less discriminatory legislation in recent decades, it would also be true to say that industrialists have demanded further sources of cheap wage-labour. Furthermore, the movement of skilled and intellectual labour into Canada has saved the national economy a great deal of expense. It has been clearly, and frequently, stated that the social conditions within the Canadian State will continue to be determined by economic imperatives.

The Italian working-class, who were major participants in the pre-Depression and post World War II migrations, helped to create the economic base for capitalism in the Canadian State. For those individuals willing and able to adopt new values, the stratified society has been somewhat malleable for as Tavares states: "Basically, the land of the opportunity, [Canada] is the land of opportunists" (1975: 111).

It has also been shown that reduced levels of regeneration from 'the old country', enculturation of second and third generation Canadians and a general desire for social mobility, ultimately result in the majority of the people of Italian descent becoming acculturated and, for the most part, supporters of the status quo. This does not imply a total rejection of their heritage. Indeed the retention of expressive aspects of culture has been actively encouraged by the state. The ideology and policy of multiculturalism are manifestations of welfare state reformism and, as such, they are forms of legitimation for the maintenance of capitalist relations in the Canadian State.

Sport is in the process of becoming more democratised. This movement towards broader opportunities for participation in some sport forms is also a manifestation of welfare state reformism. Leisure activities, although they may be socially meaningful and physically regenerative, are also highly commercialised industries. The interrelations of social class, disposable income, available time and actual participation in sport have not received sufficient attention from government agencies. Moreover, generalisations about the democratisation of sport overlook differential access to various sport forms.

Soccer is predominantly a working-class sport and it is therefore natural that the working-class of Italian descent should play the game in Canada. Determinism and ethnocentrism within the dominant, Anglo-Canadian elites ensured that ethnocultural affiliations would be perpetuated. Ethnic soccer teams seem to provide their participants with a sense of group identity and history and aid in the processes of socialisation. It may well be that the playing of a non-indigenous and ethnically-affiliated sport has retarded the process of assimilation into the mass culture of North America.

The practice of multiculturalism in Canadian soccer does not appear to be congruent with its theory. Some interested parties would like to apply coercive measures and deny participation to ethnically-oriented soccer teams; others prefer to ignore the phenomenon and believe that the process of assimilation will occur naturally and dissipate the problem; many make romanticised or condescending statements about 'our rich heritage' and 'our new Canadians'. Certainly, a strong and widely held feeling exists among the soccer administrators that the application of the theory that unity can be achieved through diversity would not be conducive to the construction of a technically efficient and well-organised national structure.

Is soccer friendly competition or cultural conflict? Such a question exposes the limitations of positivism as it cannot be answered in absolute terms. Friendly competition was evident in many games between ethnically-organised teams and soccer culture provided the opportunity for players to move beyond their usual geographical and social environments and communicate with players from other teams. However, when victory is held to be of paramount importance and nationalistic sentiments are accentuated, then cultural stereotypes are quite likely to emerge in a form of vulgar racism and cultural conflict may well occur. It is possible to see a parallel between the pursuit of "winning at any cost" and the pursuit of profit maximisation.

Soccer is a pervasive phenomenon and it does provide fertile ground for the reproduction and transmission of meritocratic liberal values and hierarchical conservative values. The two value systems are interrelated and aid in the process of ideological socialisation for continued legitimation of the Canadian State. The media are actively involved in this process, specifically because the fundamental drive of the communications industries is to accrue profit.

B. Conclusion

The appearance or symbolic representation of the democratisation of ethnocultural processes and sport should not be mistaken for their essence or actual implementation. Although the perception of democracy may be engendered by the proliferation of welfare state liberalism, the former cannot be attained while a society is predicated on the basis of profit rather than need.

The relationship between recreational and commercial soccer is in many ways a symbolic representation of the major contradiction of capitalism. While the sport is developing in accordance with humanistic values and becoming more available to more people, its progress continues to be influenced by the private appropriation of many of its most skilful exponents who are then sold back to the people as commodities for popular entertainment. The producers of commerical soccer, supported by the media, encourage adulation for the purpose of profit maximisation. Non-commercial, or recreational soccer, should encourage appreciation of skilful and aesthetically pleasing competitions, as well as create the conditions for mass participation, enjoyment and health enhancement.

This contradiction between publically and commercially produced soccer is an indication of how sport could play a transformative role in social development. The decline of commercial soccer may also indicate a future qualitative change in social relationships. The existing social order has been perpetuated by the centralisation and concentration of capital and the decision-making processes. At the same time, the development of critical awareness and working-class consciousness has been curbed by a multiplicity of wide-ranging social reforms and by extensive socialisation to liberal meritocratic values and to hierarchical conservative values. This socialisation process includes:

1. Socialisation through the philosophy of competitive individualism. (Consideration of one's own needs before consideration of societal needs.)
2. Socialisation to middle-class values. (The desire for, and belief in, social mobility.)
3. Socialisation to mass or consumer society. (Dependency on commodities and the pursuit of private accumulation.)

4. Socialisation through multiculturalism. (Perpetuation of ethnic consciousness and ethnic stereotyping.)
5. Socialisation into acceptance of the status quo. (Participation in hierarchical, competitive sport reproduces racist and sexist division within the class and encourages us to show deference to authority.)

Appropriate attitudes and acceptable behaviour are transmitted primarily through the family. The school system, community organisations, peer groups and the communications industries constitute the secondary socialising agents. Capitalist social relations are therefore maintained with the approbation of the majority of the people.

C. Recommendations

1. The abolition of commercial soccer. The sport has an influential and detrimental effect on coaches, players, spectators and on the social development of the game.
2. The state should be encouraged to provide adequate facilities and programmes for the development of the game as a mass participation sport.
3. Community level organisation should be stimulated and league rankings should be eliminated until children have attained the age of twelve. In addition, the dimensions of fields should be adapted to meet the physical abilities of children and small-sided games should be encouraged for these age groups.
4. Excessive competition and statistical records should be de-emphasised. Group cooperation, fair competition, the development of skill and enjoyment should be emphasised.
5. A vigorous policy of referee development should be instituted while at the same time children should be encouraged to play without referees, admit their own infractions and settle disputes amicably.
6. Those people who wish to hold decision-making positions should possess

administrative qualifications, coaching certificates and have some knowledge of sociology and psychology.

7. Senior players should be encouraged to become coaches, administrators and referees. More working-class people, from all ethnocultural groups, should be encouraged and given the opportunity to become decision-makers.
8. A continued and more vigorous implementation of humanistic coaching methods.
9. Media personnel should be knowledgeable about the subjects which they report. Antagonistic and sensational reporting should be discouraged.
10. Finally, more historical and participant observation research should be encouraged into the relationships between sport forms and the Canadian State.

IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books:

Anderson, Alan B. and Frideres, James S. Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives. Toronto: Butterworth's, 1981.

Avery, Donald. "Dangerous Foreigners". European Immigrant Workers and Labour Racialism in Canada. 1896-1932. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980.

Bruyn, Severyn T. The Human Perspective in Sociology: The Methodology of Participant Observation. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966.

Cantelon, Hart and Gruneau, Richard (Eds.). Sport, Culture, and the Modern State. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Cicourel, Aaron. Method and Measurement in Sociology. London: The Free Press of Glencoe Collier - MacMillan Ltd., 1964.

Clement, Wallace. The Canadian Corporate Elite. Toronto: MacMillan, 1975.

Cornforth, Maurice. Materialism and the Dialectical Method. New York: International Publishers, 1971.

Engels, Friedrich. The Condition of the Working Class in England. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973.

Foerster, Robert F. The Italian Emmigration of Our Times. New York: Russell and Russel, 1968.

Fletcher, Colin. Beneath the Surface: An Account of Three Styles of Sociological Research. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.

Garfinkel, Harold. Studies in Ethnomethodology. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967.

Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. Wright. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Gibbon, John Murray. Canadian Mosaic. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1938.

Giddens, Anthony. Capitalism and Modern Social Theory. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Harney, Robert F. Italians in Canada. Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978.

Howell, Maxwell and Howell, Reet A. History of Sport in Canada. (Eds.) Champaign, Ill.: Stipes Publishing Company, 1981.

Hughes, David R. and Kallen, Evelyn. The Anatomy of Rascism: Canadian Dimensions. Montreal: Harvest House, 1974.

Jose, Colin and Rannie, William F. The Story of Soccer in Canada. Lincoln, Ontario: W. F. Rannie, 1982.

Loy, John W., McPherson, Barry D. and Kenyon, Gerald. Sport and Social Systems. Reading, Massachusetts: Addisin-Wesley, 1968.

Marchak, M. Patricia. Ideological Perspectives on Canada. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1975.

Marx, Karl. The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. New York: International Publishers, 1968.

McCall, G. J. and Simmons, J. L. Issues in Participant Observation. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

Mills, C. Wright. The Sociological Imagination. London: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Mirkovic, Damir. Dialectic and Sociological Thought. Stoney Creek, Ontario: Dilton Publications, 1980.

Morris, Desmond. The Soccer Tribe. London: Jonathan Cape, 1981.

Neumann, Brigitte (et al.). Immigrant Integration and Urban Renewal in Toronto. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1973.

Palmer, Howard (Ed.). Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism. Vancouver: Copp Clark, 1975.

Palmer, Howard. The Land of Second Choice: A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta. Lethbridge: The Lethbridge Herald, 1972.

Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Ritzer, G. Sociology: A Multiple Paradigm Science. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1975.

Schiller, Herbert I. Communication and Cultural Domination. White Plains, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1976.

Smart, Barry. Sociology, Phenomenology and Marxian Analysis. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976.

Smythe, Dallas W. Dependency Road: Communications, Capitalism, Consciousness and Canada. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing, 1981.

Spada, A. V. The Italians in Canada. Ottawa: Riviera Printers and Publishers Inc., 1969.

Turner, R. (Ed.) Ethnomethodology. London: Penguin Ltd., 1974.

Werner, Walter, Bryan Connors, Ted Aoki, and Jorgen Dahlie Whose Culture? Whose Heritage? Ethnicity Within Canadian Social Studies. Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, 1980.

Willis, Paul E. Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs. Farnborough, England: Saxon House, 1978.

Whyte, William Foot. Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

Woodsworth, J. S. Strangers Within Our Gates. Toronto: Missionary Society for the Methodist Church of Canada, 1909.

Zeitlin, Irving. Rethinking Sociology: A Critique of Contemporary Theory. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973.

Dissertations:

Blackburn, Cecil R. "Development of Sports in Alberta, 1900-1918". Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Alberta, 1974.

Bray, Cathy. "Sport, Patriarchy and Capitalism". Forthcoming Doctoral Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1983.

Cox, Allan E. "A History of Sports in Canada, 1868-1900". Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969.

Gilroy, Sarah I. "Involuntary Disengagement From a High School Sports' Environment". Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Alberta, 1982.

Hall, M. Ann. "A History of Women's Sport in Canada Prior to World War I". Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Alberta, 1968.

Jobling, Ian F. "Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada: The Effects of Technological Change on its Development". Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1970.

Jones, Kevin. "Sport in Canada, 1900-1920". Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1970.

Lindsay, Peter L. "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867". Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969.

McKay, James. "Sport and Ethnicity: Acculturation, Structural Assimilation and Voluntary Association Involvement Among Italian Immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto". Master's Thesis, University of Waterloo, 1975.

Redmond, Gerald. "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada". Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972.

Rees-Powell, Alan T. "Differentials in the Integration Process of Dutch and Italian Immigrants in Edmonton". Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Alberta, 1964.

Reid, John E. "Sport and Games in Alberta Before 1900". Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Alberta, 1969.

Simpson, R. Wayne. "The Influence of the Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canadas, 1807-1857". Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980.

Simpson, R. Wayne. "Content Analysis Comparisons of Toronto's Sporting and Business Clubs, 1827-1881". Forthcoming Doctoral Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1983.

Snyder, H. M. "Variables Affecting Adjustments: A Study of Italians in Edmonton". Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Alberta, 1966.

Government Documents:

Canada: Immigration and Population Statistics, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974.

Canada: Immigration Statistics, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1966-73.

Canada: Immigration Statistics, Department of Manpower and immigration, 1974-80.

Canada: Multiculturalism Directorate, The Canadian Family Tree: Canada's Peoples, Ottawa: Corpus Information Services Ltd., 1979.

Canada: Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Preliminary Report), Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1966.

Canada: "Special Bulletin Population - Specified Ethnic Groups", Census of Canada, 1971.

Canada: The Charter of Rights and Freedoms: A Guide for Canadians, Ministry of Supply and Services in Canada, 1982.

Hobart, Charles W. "Italian Immigrants in Edmonton: Adjustment and Integration", A Research Report for the Royal Commision on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Two Volumes, Ottawa, 1967.

Thomas, Bruce. "A Report on Soccer in Canada", Commisioned by The Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1973.

Trudeau, Pierre E. House of Commons' Debates, 1971, Vol.VIII, 85455-8548.

Monographs, Articles and Papers:

Armstrong, F. H. "Ethnicity in the Formation of the Family Compact: A Case Study in the Growth of the Canadian Establishment", in Jorgen Dahlie and T. Fernando (Eds.) Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada, Toronto: Methuen, 1981, 22-37.

Beamish, R. B. "Socioeconomic and Demographic Characteristics of the National Executives of Selected Amateur Sports in Canada (1975)", Working Papers in the Sociological Study of Sport and Leisure, Queen's University, 1978, 1(1).

Boissenvain, Jeremy. "The Italians of Montreal", in Howard Palmer (Ed.) Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism, Vancouver: Copp Clark, 1975, 156-159.

Bradwin, Edwin. "Bunkhouse Man", in Howard Palmer (Ed.) Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism, Vancouver: Copp Clark, 1975, 97-105.

Bromley, Y. V. "The Term 'Ethnos' and its Definition", in Races and Peoples: Contemporary Ethnic and Racial Problems, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974.

Chamberlain, Nigel. "A History of Italian People in Canada, 1497-1980", Unpublished Paper, University of Alberta, 1981a.

Chamberlain, Nigel. "The Italian-Canadian Soccer Team: A Qualitative Study in Socialization, Acculturation and Assimilation", Unpublished Paper, University of Alberta, 1981b.

Curtis, James E. and Brian G. Milton. "Social Status and the 'Active Society': National Data on Correlates of Leisure-Time, Physical and Sport Activities", in Richard Gruneau and John Albinson (Eds.) Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives, Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley, 1976.

Danziger, K. "Differences in Acculturation and Patterns of Socialization Among Italian Immigrant Families", in Robert M. Pike and Ella Zureik (Eds.)

Socialization and Values in Canadian Society (Vol.II), Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

Davis, Arthur K. "Canadian Society and History as Hinterland Versus Metropolis", in Richard J. Ossenburg (Ed.) Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change and Conflict, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1971, 6-51.

Day, Robert D. "Ethnic Soccer Clubs in London, Ontario, Canada: A Study in Assimilation", International Review of Sport Sociology, 1981, 16(1), 37-52.

Dixon, Michael. "Participation in Physical Activity: Option or Privilege?", Unpublished Paper, University of Alberta, 1982.

Dunning, Eric. "The Development of Modern Football", in Eric Dunning (Ed.) The Sociology of Sport: A Selection of Readings, London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1971, 133-151.

Elias, Norbert and Eric Dunning. "Folk Football in Medieval and Early Modern Britain", in Eric Dunning (Ed.) The Sociology of Sport: A Selection of Readings, London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1971, 116-132.

Ford, Gerald R. and John Underwood. "In Defence of the Competitive Urge", in Andrew Yiannakis et al. (Eds.) Sport Sociology: Contemporary Themes, Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1976, 87-92.

Gilroy, Sarah I. "Phenomenology: Its Interpretation, Definition and Operationalization in the Field of Sport Sociology", Unpublished Paper, University of Alberta, 1981.

Glazychev, V. L. "The Problem of 'Mass Culture'", Soviet Sociology, 1981, Summer, 74.

Gordon, Sandy. "Some Cultural Difficulties Inherent in Efforts to Establish Professional Soccer in North America", Unpublished Paper, University of Alberta, 1982.

Gruneau, Richard. "Class or Mass: Notes on the Democratization of Canadian Amateur Sport", in Richard Gruneau and John Albinson (Eds.) Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1976a, 108-141.

Gruneau, Richard. "Conflicting Standards and Problems in the Sociology of Sport", QUEST, 1978a, 80-90.

Gruneau, Richard. "Elites, Class and Corporate Power in Canadian Sport: Some Preliminary Findings", in F. Landry and W. Orban (Eds.) Sociology of Sport, Miami: Symposia Specialists, 1978b.

Gruneau, Richard. "Power and Play in Canadian Social Development", Working Papers in the Sociological Study of Sport and Leisure, Kingston: Sports Studies Research Group, 1979, 2(1).

Gruneau, Richard. "Sport as an Area of Sociological Study: An Introduction to Major Themes and Perspectives", in Richard Gruneau and John Albinson (Eds.) Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1976b, 8-43.

Grygier, T. "Integration of Four Ethnic Groups in Canadian Society: English, German, Hungarian and Italian", in P. M. Mingus (Ed.) Sounds Canadian, Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1975.

Harney, Robert F. "The Italian's Community in Toronto", in Jean Leonard Elliott

(Ed.) Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1979, 220-236.

Helmes, Richard C. "Ideology and Social Control in Canadian Sport: A Theoretical Review", Working Papers in the Sociological Study of Sports and Leisure, Kingston: Sports Studies Research Group, 1978, 1(4).

Ingham, Alan G. "Methodology in the Sociology of Sport: From Symptoms of Malaise to Weber for a Cure", QUEST, 1979, 31(2), 187-215.

Ingham, Alan G. "Occupational Subcultures in the Work World of Sport", in Donald Ball and John Loy (Eds.) Sport and Social Order: Contributions to the Sociology of Sport, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1975, 337-389.

Jansen, C. J. "The Italian Community in Toronto", in Jean Leonard Elliott (Ed.) Immigrant Groups, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

Jose, Colin. "100 Years of Canadian Soccer", Unpublished Paper, 1976.

Kennedy, John F. "The Soft American", in John T. Talmini and Charles H. Page (Eds.) Sport and Society: An Anthology, Boston: Little Brown, 1973, 357-372.

Kidd, Bruce. "The Political Economy of Sport" CAHPER, Sociology of Sport Monograph Series, Ontario: Vanier City, !978.

Kidd, Bruce. "The Workers' Sports Movement in Canada, 1924-1940: The Radical Immigrants Alternative", A Paper Presented to the 9th. Biennial Conference of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, Edmonton, Alberta, 1981.

Labonte, Ronald. "Half-Truths About Health" Policy Options, 1982, January/February, Vol.3(1).

Leacock, Stephen. "Canada and the Immigrant Problem", in Howard Palmer (Ed.) Immigvation and the Rise of Multiculturalism, Vancouver: Copp Clark, 1975, 46-51.

Lenin, V. "From Statistics and Sociology", in On Historical Materialism: A Collection, New York: International Publishers, 1974, 512-13.

Lever, Janet. "Soccer as a Brazilian Way of Life", in G. P. Stone (Ed.) Games, Sport and Power, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1971, 138-159.

Mackenzie King, William L. "Statement of . . . Canada's Immigration Policy", in Howard Palmer (Ed.) Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism, Vancouver: Copp Clark, 1975, 58-62.

Metcalfe, Alan. "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal, 1840-1901", in Richard Gruneau and John Albinson (Eds.) Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1976.

Mills, C. Wright. "Two Styles of research in Current Social Studies", in E. Beck and Jim A. Barak (Eds.) The Study of Society, Scranton, Penn.: International Textbook Co., 1969.

Peter, Karl. "The Myth of Multiculturalism and Other Political Fables", in Jorgen Dahlie and T. Fernando (Eds.) Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada, Toronto: Methuen, 1981, 56-67.

Philipson, Michael. "Theory, Methodology and Conceptualization", in P. Filmer, M. Philipson, D. Silverman and D. Walsh (Eds.) New Directions in Sociological

Theory, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1973, 77-116.

Pooley, John C. "Ethnic Soccer Clubs in Milwaukee: A Study in Assimilation", in Marie Hart and Susan Birrell (Eds.) Sport in the Sociocultural Process, Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1981, 328-345.

Redmond, Gerald. "Sport and Ethnic Groups in Canada", CAHPER, Sociology of Sport Monograph Series, Ontario: Vanier City, 1978.

Richmond, Anthony H. "Immigrants and Ethnic Groups in Metropolitan Toronto", York University (Instiute for Behavioral Science Mimeo), 1967.

Rossi, E. D. and Iaconis, G. "The Italians", in Norman Sheffe (Ed.) Many Cultures, Many Heritages, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1975, 239-287.

Schrivers, Raymond. "History of the Alberta Soccer Association", Unpublished Paper, University of Alberta, 1982.

Schutz, Alfred. "Common-Sense and Scientific Interpration of Human Action", in Maurice Natanson (Ed.) Philosophy of the Social Sciences, New York: Random House, 1963, 302-346.

Sifton, Clifford. "The Immigrants Canada Wants", in Howard Palmer (Ed.) Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism, Vancouver: Copp Clark, 1975, 34-38.

Simpson, R. Wayne. "Toronto's Early Sporting Clubs: A Compact History", Paper Presented at the 5th. Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, University of Toronto, August 26-29, 1982.

Smith, Michael D. "Hostile Outbursts in Sport", in Andrew Yiannakis et al. (Eds.) Sport Sociology: Contemporary Themes, Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1976, 205-207.

Tavares, M. Custodio. "Canada: Land of Opportunity?", in Howard Palmer (Ed.) Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism, Vancouver: Copp Clark, 1975, 110-111.

Veitch, C. R. "Inequalities of Class and Race in Winnipeg, 1880-1874: Fact or Fiction?", Unpublished Paper, University of Alberta, 1982.

Walsh, David. "Functionalism and Systems Theory", in P. Filmer, M. Philipson, D. Silverman and D. Walsh (Eds.) New Directions in Sociological Theory, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1973, 57-74.

Whitson, David. "Research Methodology in Sport Sociology", CAHPER, Sociology of Sport Monograph Series, Ontario: Vanier City, 1978.

Wohl, Andrzej. "Some Remarks on the Methodology of Research in the Sociology of Sport", International Review of Sport Sociology, 1975, Vol.2(10), 5-32.

Ziegler, Suzanne (in association with A. H. Richmond). "Characteristics of Italian Householders in Metropolitan Toronto", Toronto: York Institute for Behavioral Research, 1972.

Magazines:

Boulton, Rick. "It's Hardly Just a Game". T.V.Guide, 5 June, 1982.

Gammon, Clive. "Hot and Getting Hotter". Sports Illustrated, 5 July, 1982.

Gammon, Clive. "It was Italy, Prettily". Sports Illustrated. 19 July, 1982.

Nikiforuk, Andrew. "A Tower of Babel for the Classroom". Maclean's. 1 February, 1982.

Quinn, Hal. "Canada's Stumbling Best Foot Forward". Maclean's. 23 November, 1981.

Quinn, Hal. "Canadian Soccer's Golden Chance". Maclean's. 9 November, 1981.

Quinn, Hal. "Hard Times for the Game of the Decade". Maclean's. 7 July, 1982.

Reed, J. D. "It's Time For Trimming Sails in the N.A.S.L.". Sport's Illustrated. 1 December, 1980.

Reed, J. D. "Minnesota Had To Eat Croatmeal". Sports Illustrated. 6 September, 1976.

Ross, Val. "A Storm of Claims For Refuge". Maclean's. 14 December, 1981.

Newspapers:

Selections from the following newspapers were referenced in the text:

The Edmonton Journal

The Edmonton Soccer Express

The Edmonton Sun

The Globe and Mail

The New York Times

The Sunday Times of London

X. APPENDIX

A. Background

> The [research] ideas grow up in part out of our immersion in the data and out of the whole process of living (Whyte, 1973: 280).

The general process leading to my "immersion in the data" began in earnest when my father took me to watch Liverpool Football Club who were known simply as 'The Reds'. I stood on the kitchen stool among the industrial working-class of the city on the tightly-packed terraces of Anfield Stadium. Soccer culture became a major passion in my life and, as an analyst, I could hardly make any sterile and pretentious statements about being an uncommitted observer or a 'value-free' social scientist. This historical study of one working-class sport form and one ethnocultural group and their experiences in Canada "grew up" out of my "whole process of living".

Knowing that Franco played soccer for the Ital.-Canadians and the University of Alberta Golden Bears, I arranged a meeting with him in February 1981 and explained my background, my interests and what I hoped to achieve from a short participant observation study. He was enthusiastic and offered me a good deal more help and information than I had initially hoped for. Although I did attempt to link my descriptive research to historical processes, it lacked a theoretical framework and, as a consequence, it was analytically sterile (Chamberlain, 1981b). Further library research later that year afforded me a deeper understanding of the Italian experience in North America and impressed upon me the validity of Marxist scholarship (Chamberlain, 1981a).

I maintained an active interest in the development of the game in Edmonton throughout this period by being a player, a referee and a spectator. I played senior soccer, refereed junior soccer (including International, the junior Italian-Canadian team) and attended the Drillers' games.

Having decided to pursue the theme as a thesis topic, I approached Franco in September 1981 following a Bears' game. He was pleased with the ideas that we discussed and soon afterwards he informed me that Nick, the coach, had consented to the study. I attended almost all of the Ital.-Canadian competitive games and the majority of the weekly training sessions during the 1981-82 indoor season. This pattern continued into the spring and summer of 1982, although I attended the events less frequently while I concentrated more on the Bar Italia and the World Cup Championship in Spain.

B. Collection and Analysis of Data

I decided at the outset of the study, not to carry any means of recording data into 'the field', lest I antagonise any of the players or further affect the communication process. However, being well aware that my memory was not infallible, I **always** recorded my findings and my interpretations in chronological order as soon as possible after leaving the field. I would recommend that actual occurances and conversations be distinguished from one's interpretations of events. Information should be recorded on one side of the paper only, dated and well spaced to allow for further comments and referencing.

Towards the end of the data collection, I began to formulate the headings and sub-headings of the thesis. I then read my notes carefully and registered the page number of a specific reference under the appropriate heading. In this manner I was able to reorganise and integrate relevant data and eliminate that which appeared to be superfluous.

C. Further Observations and Recommendations

Although Franco had been extremely helpful during the initial stages of the study, he proved to be fairly unreliable in terms of communicating significant events and rearranged schedules. This may be an indication of my limited acceptance into the group. This problem could perhaps have been overcome, to some extent, had I attempted to join the team as a player and/or moved into the area for the duration of the study. However, the fact that I broke my leg in July 1981 allowed me to mask my feelings of physical inadequacy and at the same time it provided a topic of conversation for the comparison of sporting injuries. Moreover, financial considerations disallowed me from moving my family out of university accommodation.